

The News from Mexico—*Charles Merz*

The World Tomorrow

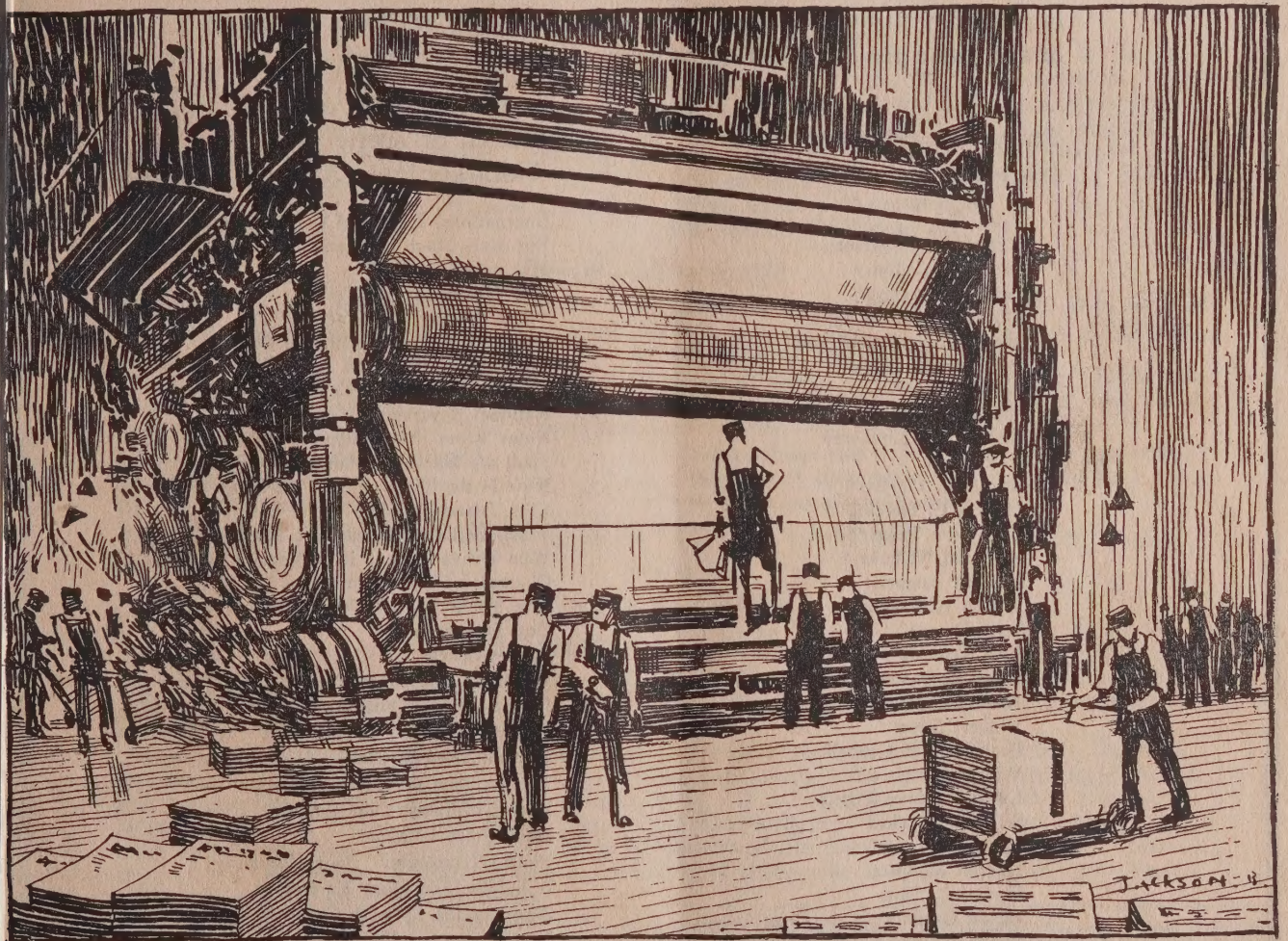
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APRIL, 1927

No. 4



Propaganda

The World Tomorrow, Inc.

52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, N. Y.

40 and 8

LAST fall THE WORLD TOMORROW was enlarged to 48 pages to permit articles, verse, book reviews, and comment of merit outside the topic under discussion in each issue. Six months' record has proved the value of this material. Subscribers from all parts of the globe are commenting on its quality and usefulness.

Some Contributors of Non-Topical Articles

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Titles of some of the Non-Topical Articles

International Industrial Competition
But Evil Must Be Conquered
Mahatma Gandhi
The Unknown Spark
Those "Damn" Foreigners
Labor Has Words With the Church
The New White Man
Mr. Cortez and Mr. Kellogg
National Sovereignty and Peace
Notes From the Philippines
Shall the Marines Follow the Dollar?
Now Is the Time to Stop the Next War!
Ellis Island Children
When College Students Get Together
Who Wants to Stay in a World Like This?
Glimpses of New China
The "New Negro" Takes Another Step
One Day in Seven
Sand Crickets
Whence Came War?
Does Religion Quiet or Disquiet?
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The Religion of Eugene Debs
The Leadership That Counts
Have Faith in Man!
Pour L'Humanite? Poor Humanity!
Is a New Feudalism Emerging?
Singeing the Spanish Censor's Beard
Two Poems on Youth
"Goin' Study War"—for Peace

THE number, scope, and quality of these unusual feature articles are to be widened and emphasized during the next year. Each month we shall print within the 48 pages of THE WORLD TOMORROW an increasing amount of this material which will serve to enlighten and entertain you, and to keep you in touch with a series of important happenings in all parts of the world.

Toward Tomorrow

EACH issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW is planned to meet its readers at their moment of greatest need for specific information. Its purpose is to furnish data on subjects of political, international, social and industrial problems at a time when the question is vexing and our subscribers need a clear presentation of the elements in the situation. The numbers here announced illustrate this point and show how, by subscribing to THE WORLD TOMORROW, one may become informed on public questions.

May--Caribbean Number

FOR months we have all been watching our Latin American relations. The forecast is that for many months we shall be occupied with this serious problem. The Third Pan-American Commercial Conference is to be held in Washington, May 2 to 5. It is called to consider questions of trade relations of the American Republics. The program includes a discussion of the principles that should govern foreign investment of capital. The May issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW will discuss:

The Canal—A Waterway to What?

The 14 Possessions and the Monroe Doctrine

Haiti—A Case in Point

Social Equality in the Caribbean

The Culture of the Peoples

A Future We Would Like

June--Marriage

A WIT, visiting in the office, asked if we were publishing a number on *Marriage* in June for the brides. The answer is "no," but as usual the wit is more right than wrong. A good many serious minded men and women, about to be married, will read this and be guided.

We planned the issue for the series of conferences, institutes, annual meetings and camps that assemble during the summer. There the young people discuss, seriously, the matter of men's and women's relations. They with their fathers and their mothers and their aunts are asking:

What makes a happy marriage?

Unsuccessful marriages—why?

Before marriage—what?

What about the wife's income and profession?

When and how should marriage be broken?

Is monogamy—monotony?

To answer some of these tremendous questions we publish a June issue on *Marriage*.

July

July?—That's easy:—*Vacations*.

August--Agriculture

ALREADY it is clear that a good deal of the presidential election campaigning will be around the farm question. City voters need all the help we can give on agricultural problems from an economic point of view.

The 2,000,000 mortgaged farmers are only a step removed from the 7,000,000 actually "landless." For them the estimated three per cent farm income does not meet the six per cent mortgage interest that dangles like a hangman's noose above their heads. It is of these 9,000,000 that George W. Norris, Republican United States Senator from Nebraska, declares: "The farmer works harder, lives more economically and has fewer of the ordinary pleasures of life than any other class of our citizenship. . . . An honest civilization should demand that those who toil the most and the longest hours to supply the world with the necessities of human existence should have, at least, a fair return for their labors."

You will need this number of THE WORLD TOMORROW.

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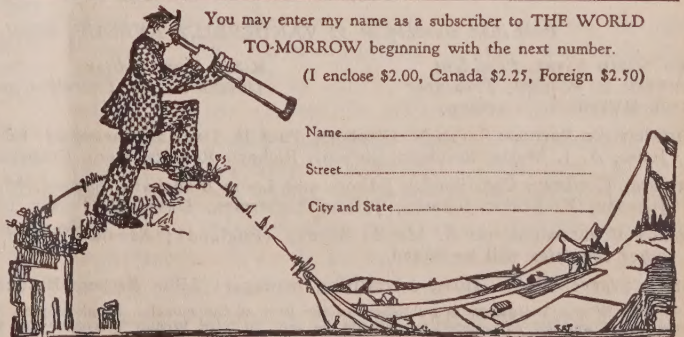
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Point of View

The World Tomorrow

Vol. X April, 1927 No. 4

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BY propaganda we mean a distorted, exaggerated, one-sided, misleading or false statement of the case. That is, we use the word as commonly understood rather than as technically defined. Some of this propaganda is founded upon ignorance and is innocently circulated, while some is based upon deceit and is maliciously passed along. In its present form propaganda is a product of the World War. Included in the list of agencies available for the dissemination of propaganda are the newspaper, the periodical, the pamphlet, the bound volume, the poster, the cartoon, the platform, the pulpit, the soap-box, the class room, the radio, the moving picture, the sewing room, and the Pullman smoker.

While propaganda is an ancient art, no people have ever been so skilfully and continuously bombarded with it as we have been during the past twelve years. Propaganda is being used to grind all kinds of axes. All groups are indulging in it—conservatives, liberals, radicals. The result is that everywhere masses of people are being misled. In this issue we have assembled samples of various kinds of distorted and false statements. Lest we forget how completely we were victimized during the World War, we quote chapter and verse. Then we make an effort to evaluate suggested alternatives for propaganda.

A question naturally arises as to the attitude of THE WORLD TOMORROW toward propaganda. In the sense in which the word is being used throughout this number, the editors do not believe that propaganda is justifiable. This does not mean that we are neutral or lacking in strong convictions. Nor do we always devote an

equal amount of space to respective points of view. We are, however, attempting to be fair and comprehensive in our treatment of a given subject. In practically every number we print articles with which we seriously disagree. We do not consciously publish false statements and we seek to avoid exaggeration. We eagerly solicit correspondence from our readers on these points and are always glad to have our attention called to errors or misstatements, which we will correct to the extent possible.

IN THE opening article, Charles Merz of the editorial staff of the New York *World* discusses a current question which is of vital importance to all Americans and uses it as an illustration of the way in which propagandists succeed in poisoning the public mind. Norman Angell is the well known author of "The Great Illusion" and other works. Rhoda E. McCulloch is the editor of *The Woman's Press* and an experienced leader of discussion groups, who believes in "education, not propaganda." Will Irwin, from whose new book we quote, is a famous war correspondent and journalist.

AMONG the non topical contributors, Reinhold Niebuhr of Detroit is one of the most brilliant and fearless young ministers of the country. Walter Burr is a professor at the Kansas State Agricultural College. Charlotte E. Wilder is teaching at Wheaton College. W. Walter Ludwig is university pastor at Ohio University. Charles A. Elwood, professor of sociology at the University of Missouri, is the author of "The Reconstruction of Religion" and of a forthcoming book on social origins, of which his article is Chapter XI. John Dewey of Columbia University is one of the leading philosophers of our time. Gilson Gardner of Washington is a director of the Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers. Francis J. McConnell is one of the ablest bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

THE WORLD TOMORROW

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A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. X.

April, 1927

No. 4

Editorials

The Supreme Court

Five and a half years after Secretary Fall emptied the "eloquent cargo of \$100,000 in currency" from the famous black satchel, the Supreme Court of the United States pronounced null and void the Doheny oil leases. By a unanimous vote the Court declared that the deal between Fall and Doheny had been "consummated by conspiracy, corruption, and fraud. The whole transaction was tainted with corruption."

On March 7, the Court held unconstitutional the Texas law barring Negroes from voting in a Democratic primary election. This decision was unanimous also. By another of the much discussed five to four decisions, the Court recently held unconstitutional the New York State law restricting the price at which theatre tickets may be sold by ticket agencies.

These three decisions invite attention. Throughout its history the Court in many cases has earned a reputation for integrity and devotion to the public good. The Doheny decision is one more illustration of the vigor with which the Court denounces dishonesty and fraud. The Court may be depended upon to uphold the Constitution when its violation is as obvious as in the Texas primary law.

The recent decision concerning the theatre law reveals the more vulnerable side of the Court. In cases of this kind the decision of the Court is determined not by common honesty or by the letter of the Constitution, which is necessarily vague and indefinite, but by the attitudes of the respective justices toward private property and price fixing. Men equally honest and equally devoted to the public good frequently differ in their opinions. A change in the vote of one justice would have upheld the constitutionality of the law. It is an error, therefore, to say that our Constitution is a rigid, unchanging document. Its meaning is constantly changing. Frequently, the Court reverses its former opinions. The person who appoints the justices of the Court really determines the nature of many of its decisions.

The people of this country are not impotent and helpless in the face of a Supreme Court decision. There are three courses open. Amend the Constitution. Elect the kind of President who will appoint justices who will render the desired decisions. Create powerful public opinion. The history of the Court makes clear that in the long run it is responsive to public opinion. In his dissenting opinion in the theatre case, Justice Holmes said, "If the people of the State of New York, speaking by their authorized voice, say they want it, I see nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prevent their having their wills." And eventually, if they desire anything with sufficient intensity, they will secure it.

Peaks and Valleys in Europe

The pathway over which the peoples of Europe are traveling in their search for the promised land of international friendship and cooperation takes them over tall peaks and down through deep valleys. On that bright day when they reached the heights of Locarno and got a vision of the fair country in the distance, they imagined for a moment that they were nearing their journey's end. Since then, however, they have wandered for many weary months through the marshes and bogs of the lowlands. To make the steep grade over the next range, clear eyes and stout hearts are required.

That Europe has travelled far in the direction of peace during the past eight years cannot be questioned. The worst passions of the war are dying down. The habit of conferring is being formed. The machinery for peaceable adjustment of international disputes is being extended and strengthened. The League of Nations, the World Court, and the International Labor Office are steadily gaining prestige and influence. All-inclusive arbitration treaties are being negotiated. War is being outlawed by and between nation after nation. Economic agreements are being reached. In many sections trade barriers are being lowered. Germany is being restored to a place of

equality with the other great powers. Think of Stresemann presiding over the recent session of the Council of the League and addressing his fellow members in the German language!

That Europe has a long, long journey ahead before permanent peace is reached is equally obvious. Upper Silesia, the Danzig corridor, the Saar, and the Rhineland are still highly explosive subjects. The ratification of the Bessarabian treaty has widened the breach between Western Europe and Russia. Relations between Great Britain and the Bolsheviks are very strained, as are those between France and Italy. Turkey is apprehensive concerning the next move of Mussolini. The Magyars and the Roumanians are engaged in a bitter controversy over Transylvania. The testing time of The Dawes Plan is approaching and a new crisis with Germany may soon be precipitated. The race of armaments continues and the prospects for reduction are none too bright. Secret diplomacy is still being practiced. Half of Europe continues to dwell next door to poverty.

American critics of European nations will do well to remember the handicaps and burdens under which the latter are laboring. For centuries now the continent of Europe has been divided into sovereign nations. Nationalism has become its curse. National boundaries constitute barriers between peoples. For hundreds of years fears, suspicions, and enmities have been accumulating. Animosities have become traditional. The teaching of narrow, nationalistic history has tended to perpetuate misunderstandings. By night and by day these peoples are haunted with memories of their war-time sufferings and bereavements. They cling to their trade barriers, their imperialistic enterprises, and their armaments because they are afraid to let go. Enemies are near at hand and can strike quickly. Economic and military daggers are pointed at their hearts. Covetousness and jealousy are factors in their struggles, but the most important element is fear. Fear is enervating and paralyzing. It is fear that keeps them from scaling the heights.

The Church and the Stage

The recent founding, in New York City, of the Church and Drama Association has fired our imaginations. The new organization will be active for the betterment of the stage and its attitude will be constructive. It is not in favor of censorship, but states that wholesome plays must be supported and patronage cultivated for those productions that measure up to the highest standards of dramatic art and of wholesome recreation. When the church, the writers and producers of the drama and the press unite for the betterment of the stage marked improvement should result and speedily. We note with a good deal of interest the personnel of the group and pin our hopes to the

fact that they are leaders in their fields and have some power to deal with a commercially complicated situation. If they function with critical intelligence the Association will be a power for good. We hope it will follow its self-imposed principle of constructive and positive criticism; in that case its influence will spread out beyond New York City.

They Love the Dark

Hardly a week goes by without the publication, somewhere in Europe, of what purport to be secret arrangements made ostensibly in a desire for peace, but really in the ambition to make or consolidate nationalist gains at the expense of rival nations. Occasionally these exposures bear all the earmarks of forgeries; frequently they pass the test of careful scrutiny—as, for instance, the series of treaties between France, Poland, and Roumania against Russia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Lithuania. The honors now will have to go to Messrs. Chamberlain and Mussolini, for this pair have worked wonders—from their points of view—ever since the famous meeting at Leghorn last autumn. Roumania's claim to Bessarabia is granted by Italy, with England's backing; Albania, which previously had been protected from Italian domination by British diplomacy, comes under Mussolini's sway with Chamberlain's approval, thus corking up the Adriatic from Brindisi to Valona, and violating an understanding with Yugoslavia, France's Balkan darling; and the Bulgarian *Politika* publishes the text of certain secret agreements between Britain and Greece, assuring support of the League in Greece's claims against Yugoslavia. England also is doing everything in her power to stack the European cards against Russia, anticipating the clash of interests in the East which may indeed result in a war between these two great powers—a war which, it is certain, would not be unwelcome to that part of the British Cabinet which is led by such tub thumpers as Churchill, Joynson-Hicks, and Amory.

And if unfounded rumors and suspicions gain credence, who is to blame if not the practitioners of secrecy? Transfer the query to our own government's recent handling of relations with Nicaragua and Mexico; if there seems a widespread habit throughout the honest and intelligent press of the United States to label Mr. Kellogg "nervous Nellie," to call the State Department in more or less outspoken terms a fomenter of falsehoods, to suspect Mr. Coolidge of misrepresentation of the issues at stake, who is to blame? Mr. Kellogg sends a note to the Mexican government: the contents are not made public and at once a thousand different versions are afloat in as many quarters.

If anything is certain about our policy, it is the government's unwillingness to let in the light upon its conduct of foreign relations in Latin America. And if

there has been the least unfairness in the public's strong suspicions, let the government, which has been the creator of them by its actions, clear them up by telling all the truth. Or is the whole truth the one thing that it dare not tell?

On Losing a Job

There are a good many educational institutions in this country in which extreme anti-war advocates cannot get a public hearing. This is true in some instances where the president and a majority of the faculty are themselves sympathetic to the pacifist point of view. We know of one case where an anti-war speaker was shut out because of pressure from the American Legion, supported by the chairman of the Board of Trustees of the university. The president of the university found himself in a very difficult and delicate position. He was strongly opposed to war. He believed in free speech. He very much disliked the idea of yielding to pressure. But— — — The chairman of the Board was a very determined person who had lost a son in the World War and who regarded anti-war talk as a reflection on dead soldiers. Moreover, he was a generous financial contributor to the institution. He was one of the leading citizens of the community and had great influence with the other trustees. If the president disregarded the chairman's protest and permitted a pacifist to speak at the chapel, he would certainly find himself in a serious controversy with his Board and might eventually lose his job. If he were fired, a reactionary president would succeed him. Besides, the university has a more important function than the teaching of pacifism. Moreover, a single address or two would not make much difference. Why jeopardize one's work for the sake of an abstract right of free speech? If one should be discharged, it would be difficult to secure another position. Indeed, one's whole future would be endangered. Then, too, a man must consider his wife and children. They would be the chief sufferers if he lost his job. So why run an undue risk? Why not go ahead and quietly exert a wholesome influence?

Thousands of educators, clergymen, and other religious and social workers in this country cannot express their real convictions concerning international, economic, racial and political questions without jeopardizing their positions. What are they to do? Their dilemma is real, their peril is very great. They deserve the sympathy of those fortunate persons who possess greater security. And yet, we ask, how can truth be

discovered unless freedom of discussion prevails? Would the measure of freedom we now enjoy have been won if men had not been willing to lose their jobs—and their lives? How can the power of great wealth over education and religion be curbed unless some administrators are willing to take great risks in behalf of free speech? What shall it profit a man to hold his job and lose his soul?

For Services Rendered

When the New York state income tax falls due next time, one of the city's citizens will have to report that his salary was recently raised to \$70,000 a year. Mr. George Herman Ruth, known to the sport intelligentsia as the Babe, is a gentleman of attainments. His industry, with certain lapses, has been commendable. On his professional skill who can cast a doubt or on his capacity to make money for his employer? The moral, according to good American standards, is plain. If the research men, college presidents, professors, and others who belong to inferior social strata would apply themselves with equal energy, faithfulness, acumen, perseverance, and willingness to master their trades, who knows how closely they might approximate such recognition of their indispensability?

We are afraid that *we* know.

"Militarism Broadcasting"

Until the presidential campaign of 1924 the proponents of minority ideas were practically barred from the air. But at least a small improvement has been discernible, for not only have the larger toll stations rented to radicals the privilege of broadcasting, but at many smaller stations all kinds of opinions have in some measure been put on the air. But the new radio bill, for the liberalization of which Senator Dill fought a losing battle, virtually turns over the radio industry, basically at least, to the government and the military. Our one great chain of stations is dominated by General Harbord, whose extreme views on preparedness were quoted in these columns last month. And though it seemed hardly necessary from the viewpoint of militarism, President Coolidge appointed General Bullard head of the radio commission, and the bill itself not only fails to protect radio against monopoly stock ownership but authorizes the President to suspend all rules and shut up any station in time of war or of a threatened war or even "a state of public peril"—the time when the expression of minority opinion is of greatest public service.

The Propaganda Against Mexico

CHARLES MERZ

THESE are the five chief "patterns" in the propaganda which is now being directed against Mexico: 1. Mexico is the aggressor. 2. Bolshevism threatens the Canal. 3. Calles is slipping. 4. The oil laws are not working. 5. Arbitration is impossible and unthinkable.

If you will watch the news you will be interested to note how frequently these five patterns repeat themselves and how large a part of the news they cover.

You will also note that the propaganda of the peace party, as contrasted with the war party, follows roughly the same patterns—with the theorem reversed: 1. Mexico is the victim, not the aggressor. 2. Talk of Bolshevism threatening the Canal is poppycock. 3. Calles is as strong as ever. 4. The oil laws are working beautifully. 5. Arbitration is both feasible and desirable.

Only, if you are collecting data under the heading of peace propaganda you must not expect to find the same voluminous material which is available on the war party's side. There are various good reasons why. For one thing, most of our news of Mexico is newspaper news—and it is the essence of newspaper news that it features conflict because in conflict there is drama. A threat of war is always first-page news; a promise of continued peace is just good enough for the nineteenth page of the Real Estate Section on a not very busy Sunday. Furthermore, it happens in the present instance that those rich and ever-flowing sources of news, the White House and the State Department, are on the side of the war party rather than the peace party—or if that is overstating it, at least they are quite definitely *not* on the side of arbitration. Finally, it must be remembered that those who wish to state the peaceful unexciting side of Mexican-American relations have only a few bags full of speeches and a general, rather nebulous conviction that peace is better than a quarrel—while their opponents are sophisticated gentlemen who know their way around town, have plenty of money in their pockets, plenty of experience with the background of a complex controversy, plenty of entrées into newspaper offices and State Department anterooms, and the quite definite and specific objective of holding on to certain titles to properties which are rich in oil.

There is more propaganda on one side than on the other, not because pacifists are nobler people than sword-rattlers but because the facts of the situation are what they are, in news-values, in the attitude of the Administration and in the resources of the oil men. By "propaganda" I assume that we mean not mere healthy argument and counter-argument, which

are certainly legitimate enough and desirable enough on all occasions, but attempts to influence public opinion which are either inadequate in method, in that they fail to specify responsible authority for important statements, or inadequate in result, in that they do not measure up to demonstrated fact.

The story of the five patterns is instructive not only in the specific matter of our quarrel with Mexico but the general matter of the modern propaganda-engine and the way it works.

I. MEXICO THE AGGRESSOR.

ON January 7 the Official Spokesman of the Administration (Mr. Coolidge by another name) faced the newspaper correspondents in the White House and declared that "actual hostilities with Mexico were a possibility." Why? Because "hot-headed leaders of the Calles Government, anxious to unite the Mexican people behind their President, might resort to some more impressive gesture, such as a raid across the border."

That is, the President of the United States told the people of the United States to beware of a Mexican thrust across the Rio Grande.

No concrete proof can be offered that this warning was plain 100 per cent propaganda, as propaganda is here defined, except to say that no evidence was offered for a serious and alarming charge, that the charge itself was made via a mythical personage who regularly serves as a mere screen for the propagation of irresponsible ideas, and that after an interval of three months there has been no raid and no suggestion of a raid.

This statement sets the pace for the theory that Mexico has not only adopted an oil law but is now aggressively threatening the interests and even the security of the United States. As further samples of propaganda following this same pattern, samples which can be checked against concrete evidence and found either to cite no responsible authority for their statements or else to stand disproved on the basis of demonstrated fact, there may be listed—

1. Mr. Kellogg's charge that the Calles Government is permitting Mexico to be used as "a political base" for an assault on the United States by Soviet Russia. Mr. Kellogg cited a statement of Tchitcherin, but failed to cite a statement in reply by Calles. Calles said that his Government would "tolerate no abuse of good faith, seeking to make it an instrument for the realization of manoeuvres or combinations of international politics." This reply by Calles must have been available to Mr. Kellogg. It must have been

available to him because his own ambassador in Mexico City, James R. Sheffield, publicly congratulated Calles on his answer at the time.

2. The charge, frequently reiterated in the press, that the Calles Government is plotting against the United States in Central America. Thus a dispatch from Washington to the New York *Herald Tribune*: "A flood of anti-American propaganda, it is asserted by high officials, is being poured into the air over Central America each night from Mexican broadcasting stations." Note the authority. "High [but unidentified] officials."

3. The charge, regularly embodied in the propaganda of the oil companies, that the Calles Government is seizing American properties without any form of payment. Thus the statement of the Association of Producers of Petroleum that Mexico has undertaken to "despoil" American owners of their properties and rights "without compensation." As a matter of fact the Mexican Constitution provides that no property shall be expropriated "except by means of indemnification" and that "no law shall be given retroactive effect to the prejudice of any person whatever." Even Mr. Kellogg's notes credit Mexico with the intention of providing compensation and content themselves with challenging the adequacy and appropriateness of the method chosen.

4. Finally, under this first pattern of Mexico the aggressor, there might be cited the furor over the celebrated "pamphlet." News broke suddenly, early in March, that the American Government had laid hands on a brochure entitled "Hands Off Mexico," and that it harbored dark suspicions as to the authorship of this deliberate attack on the United States. The New York *Times* reported excitement in the State Department, and declared, "There was no denial from any source of what appeared to be well-founded reports that this Government had complained of the Mexican Ambassador for alleged unwarranted activity in disseminating propaganda."

Mexico the aggressor. But in the present instance there was not much Mexico about it. The trail, I am afraid, leads close to one of the contributing editors of this magazine. For there is evidence that the author of "Hands Off Mexico" is not a conspiring Mexican but a group headed by Mr. Norman Thomas.

2. THE CANAL

THE second major pattern in the propaganda against Mexico is really an elaboration and an intensification of the first: namely, a Mexican offensive against the United States pushed so vigorously as to threaten our interests at the Panama Canal. The facts here have already been discussed in detail by the liberal press and can be stated briefly. They are as follows:

On November 17 the State Department was pre-

paring to publish its exchange of notes with Mexico—an exchange of notes which was suddenly to confront the American people (who had had no alarming news of Mexico in many months with the fact that they were up against a "crisis" which might lead to a break in relations at almost any moment.

On November 18, as if to prepare the American people for the bat in the eye which was to hit them a few days later, the Associated Press broadcast the sudden news that "The spectre of a Mexican-fostered Bolshevik hegemony intervening between the United States and the Panama Canal has thrust itself into American-Mexican relations, already strained."

On November 28 Mr. Paul Y. Anderson, Washington correspondent of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, went behind the scenes on this sensational Associated Press report, and charged: (a) that this story was deliberately inspired by Assistant Secretary of State Robert E. Olds, who had called the heads of the press associations to his office and requested them to send it out; (b) that Mr. Olds admitted that he "could not prove" the charges he desired the press associations to send broadcast; and (c) that he declined to permit the State Department to be quoted, terming this suggestion "utterly impossible."

Is Anderson's account true?

It remains to be noted only what has been said of it, by way of official denial. Anderson made his charges on November 28. Though these charges were aired at length, no statement concerning them was forthcoming from the State Department for the next five weeks.

On December 13th the La Guardia resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives, calling on the State Department to disclose whether, through any of its officers, it had "made any statement" to the press associations regarding the sending of this story.

On January 3, having had twenty-one days to think the question over, Mr. Kellogg re-phrased it in his own words so that it now asked him whether the State Department had "sought to use" the press associations for ulterior purposes, and to this question answered "No."

One word. If this is a full, a prompt and a disingenuous disclaimer of the incident, then the moon is made of sawdust.

3. CALLES IS SLIPPING.

THE third major pattern in the propaganda against Mexico brings into the picture a motif familiar to those who remember the news from Russia in the first days of the revolution. Just as it was constantly predicted in 1917 and 1918 by those who disliked Lenin's economic theories that Lenin was about to fall, so it has been predicted in 1926 and 1927 by those who dislike Calles' economic theories that Calles

is about to fall. So too it is beginning to be predicted by those who dislike the theories of Chang Kai-Shek and the Chinese nationalists that Chang Kai-Shek is about to fall.

Lenin, inconsistently enough, was at the same time powerful enough to threaten the whole world's peace and yet weak enough to be perpetually on the point of being overthrown. So too with Calles. He is strong enough and menacing enough to constitute a genuine threat to the peace of the United States (see Pattern No. 1). But he is at the same time unpopular enough and insecure enough with his own countrymen (see Pattern No. 3) to be slipping day by day.

Now, Calles may indeed be slipping. It is certainly not the purpose of this article to argue that he is not. This article is discussing propaganda. It is therefore bound to note—

1. That stories which depict trouble for an unpopular adversary are frequently played up beyond the merit of any actual facts inherent in the news. Thus a *Times* headline, "Spread of Disorder Alarms Mexicans," over an Associated Press report from Mexico City that "within the last three days there have been a murder and two hold-ups by bandits only a few miles from the capital." Within the last three days, as this is written, there have been three murders and thirty-nine hold-ups by bandits not a few miles from but actually inside the financial capital of the United States, the city of New York. Yet no newspaper has carried the headlines, "Spread of Disorder Alarms Americans." Calles, to be sure, was and is in more danger of a coup d'état than Coolidge. The two situations are by no means alike. Yet a careful observer of the news will find much to persuade him that news of "disorder," "revolts," etc., is frequently overstated, by the test of demonstrated fact. "Mexico Is Pictured on Brink of Revolt" said a headline in the *Times* when the oil laws took effect. Now, a brink is something which is presumably near at hand. Yet these headlines appeared in the *Times* of January 6—ten weeks ago—and the brink is not yet here. On what authority was Mexico pictured on the brink of revolt, ten weeks ago? The only authority which the *Times* cited was "competent observers." Why were they competent observers? Presumably because they predicted that Mexico was on the brink of revolt. Why did they predict that Mexico was on the brink of revolt? Presumably because they were competent observers.

2. The reverse side of this practice of underestimating the strength of one's adversary is overestimating the strength of those who propose to put him out. I have quoted the *Times* one way, so it is fair to quote the *Times* the other. You will find in the *Times* of January 24 the news that a "formidable" effort to overthrow Calles "is being fomented by Adolfo de la Huerta." On what authority does this appraisal of

"formidable" rest? On the authority that "an impression prevails in Washington." It prevailed too soon. You will find in the *Times*, again, the sensational first-page two-column-headline news that "a second Padre Hidalgo has arisen in Mexico" to take the field against Calles—Archbishop Orozco, at the head of a revolutionary movement so formidable as to "show that the situation in Mexico is becoming serious."

Draw the curtain. This is the first, last and only news of Archbishop Orozco in the field.

4. THE OIL LAWS ARE NOT WORKING.

WITH the fourth pattern we come specifically to the oil laws, and it is small wonder that a good deal of propaganda on both sides has centered upon an effort to assert that the laws are working well or that they are working badly. For if it can be demonstrated that the laws are working well, except in the case of the recalcitrant American companies, there is prima facie evidence that the opposition of the American companies is unreasonable. On the other hand, if the laws are working badly there is prima facie evidence that the recalcitrant American companies are asking no more than other American companies and other foreign companies are asking everywhere.

At the outset it can be said that propaganda emanating from the Mexican Government has been misleading (for example, its statement of January 27) in that it has cited acreage figures exclusively and (until recent date) not oil production figures, in its percentages of the extent to which oil producers are complying with the laws, because acreage figures make a more impressive showing from the point of view of Mexico.

On the other hand, see what happened when the Senate of the United States set out to ascertain the facts:

1. On February 3 the Senate adopted the Norris resolution, asking the State Department for information as to "What individuals or corporations foreign to Mexico, if any, have accepted the laws of Mexico relating to oil lands and oil concessions acquired prior to May 1, 1917."

2. On February 16 Mr. Kellogg replied by citing four foreign companies which had accepted the laws, and only four.

3. Mr. Kellogg arrived at this result by a feat of logic. First he gave a list (by no means a complete list) of *American* companies owning or claiming lands. Then he cited four of these companies which had filed applications. Then he said, in reply to the Senate's inquiry as to *all foreign* companies, that no other companies on his own list had filed applications! The net effect was to suggest that four foreign companies had filed, and only four. As a matter of fact, hundreds of companies filed—380 companies, to be exact—and the list includes at least a score of substantial Amer-

ican companies (let alone other foreign companies) which Mr. Kellogg's answer to the Senate did not cite.

Mr. Kellogg's answer was a trick answer, and there is no other way to characterize it than as a trick answer. It is on a par with the reply made by the Administration ten days later to a second resolution adopted by the Senate. Sensing the fact that the validity of the Doheny titles might be the heart of the whole quarrel, the Senate asked what lands the Doheny interests had in Mexico which they refused to submit to the new regulations. Now, as a matter of public knowledge, the companies which are commonly known as the Doheny companies are by far the largest foreign oil interests operating in Mexico. But on March 3 the President of the United States transmitted to the Senate a reply from the State Department saying that it knew nothing about the Doheny interests!

You see, the Doheny interests are known technically as the Mexican Petroleum Company and the Huasteca Petroleum Company—and the Senate did not ask for that.

One considers this masterpiece of circumlocution thought up by Mr. Kellogg's bright young men, coupling it with Mr. Kellogg's own answer to the earlier resolution and his "No" to the La Guardia resolution, and wonders if the Department of State under its present leadership is rightly named. Why not the Department of Quibble?

5. ARBITRATION IS IMPOSSIBLE AND UNTHINKABLE.

WE come, finally, to the question of arbitration—a question of manifest importance since it brings us face to face with the situation as it stands today. Let us see what happened:

1. On January 8 the President of Mexico made this statement regarding arbitration: "Mexico will take the chance [of an unfavorable decision] in order to avoid a more serious danger to the country, and will be willing to choose the lesser of two evils and go to the Hague."

2. Ten days later, on January 18, Mr. Kellogg was asked for a statement regarding the Robinson resolution, then pending in the Senate and proposing arbitration. He said: "I welcome it. . . . The principle has been recognized in treaties with Mexico. For some time I have been giving very careful consideration to the question of the definite application of the principle of arbitration to the existing controversy."

3. Thus, on the afternoon of January 18 both the Mexican President and the American Secretary of State were definitely on record as favoring arbitration rather than an open break. Then something happened. What, no mere outsider knows. The Washington Bureau of the New York *World* reported that a backfire against arbitration had immediately been begun and

that "the big oil companies" promptly "deluged the State Department" with refusals to arbitrate. This the oil companies denied. But whatever the influences, the results were immediate and unmistakable. On January 19 Mr. Kellogg ate some of the words he had uttered the day before—it being now declared in his behalf that "all he had meant to say was that he was naturally glad to have the advice of the Senate," but—of course he did not mean to approve "the text of its resolution"! With equal promptness the Official Spokesman stepped forward to announce that the real issue was not arbitration but confiscation.

4. Simultaneously the Administration newspapers stepped into the breach with welcome news from Mexico. On the morning of January 20 (in the same paper that carried news of Mr. Kellogg's change of front) headlines in the *Herald Tribune* spread the information: "Oil and Land Stand, Says Calles, Bars Arbitration."

5. While the *Herald Tribune* was thus engaged in printing the news that Calles "Bars Arbitration," Calles was actually accepting the proposal. Next day's *Herald Tribune* carried the headlines: "Mexico Approves U. S. Arbitration in Principle."

6. The Mexican Government having thus been spry enough to head off further unofficial explanations made for it by someone else, and arbitration not being definitely "barred" by either party, the Senate of the United States proceeded to vote on the Robinson resolution and approved arbitration by a vote of 79 to 0.

7. This phase of the arbitration issue being an accomplished fact, a new note was promptly struck. On the day after the Senate's action it was pointed out that what the Senate did in this particular phase of the controversy didn't matter anyway. Senate or no Senate, there would be no arbitration. "Some observers go so far as to say," said a dispatch to the *Times* from Mexico City, "that the Senate's action, instead of furthering the chances of arbitration, has actually made it more unlikely."—Q. E. D.!

8. The comments of the Official Spokesman can appropriately conclude the story. That legendary figure has insisted that he "sees no hope in arbitration and nothing to be arbitrated"; that arbitration would only "complicate the situation"; and that "the widespread demand for arbitration is evidence that a multitude of intelligent Americans either do not understand the principles for which the Administration is contending or are strangely ignorant of facts."

There we stand.

The situation is one which may easily develop new dangers suddenly, due to the temper of the Administration, or new moves toward ways of finding peace, due to the temper of its public.

In either case, we have had one more exhibition of the modern propaganda-engine with its valves wide open, steam pouring from its boilers in full blast.

The Anvil Chorus

Conceal the Venom

"This bulletin is the first one to be sent out under Plan A. Subsequent bulletins will follow, often accompanied by a pamphlet written by men and women recognized as authorities on certain movements. Let me quote to you part of a letter received at Headquarters from an Army Officer. This quotation contains sound advice. 'As to Subversive Agitation, the important thing is to fight it without seeming to fight. Fight it with FACTS and FIGURES, with Venom and Fury, yes, but *CONCEAL* the *Venom and Fury*. There is a positive advantage in: NEVER displaying animosity: NEVER showing ill-temper: and NEVER treating the other side with anything but courtesy. Always state publicly that those opposing your ideals are doubtless actuated as you are, by motives of sincerity and desire to work for the general welfare. But, ADD, or let it be inferred that these misguided Americans suffer from lack of complete information, or errors of judgment, or from *contact with radicals, communists, enemies of social order* who are deceiving them, duping them, using them as catspaws—theirself devoted to evil, to plots against our governmental system, to bolshevism, *but wily foes*, difficult to unmask.' . . . Be sure that you save this bulletin. In the course of a few months you will have a file of information that you will value."
(From The National Society of Scabbard and Blade, *Special Situation Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 1.)

Amazing, Indeed!

"AN AMAZING STORY OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES. MUCH OF IT COMES FROM OFFICIAL SOURCES. HERE IS FOOD FOR THOUGHT—AND ACTION. Any red blooded American who undertakes to set forth the truth concerning the organized efforts being made at the present time to destroy our government, inevitably finds himself projected into the use of seemingly intemperate language. The destructive forces are so well organized, so soundly financed, so far reaching in their scope and so free to pursue their sinister purposes unhampered, that a recital of the ungarnished facts necessarily conveys the impression of exaggeration and alarmism, even though determined efforts be made to avoid these very things.

"An almost unbelievable state of affairs exists in this country today. Unbelievable, that is, to the average good citizen who has never looked into the matter and who takes for granted a well nigh universal loyalty to this country and its institutions equal to his own. But here are a few, just a few, of the facts which become manifest upon investigation:

FAR REACHING PROPAGANDA

"Ten million people out of our population of 110,000,000 are tainted with radicalism of varying degrees, from the pale pink of pacifism to the deep red of bolshevism. Their number unquestionably embraces more than 2,000,000 who would like to see our Government destroyed and a new government moulded on soviet lines erected on the ruins.

"Subversive societies and organizations actively working for the destruction of Christianity, civilization, and government in America number several hundreds. The Industrial Defense Association has a list of 275.

"Devoted to the interests of these various cults of destruction are 1,500 publications, which include 18 daily papers printed in as many languages, with large circulations, some as high as half a million."

(From What's What, September, 1926, published by the Industrial Defense Association, Inc.)

How Wall Street Totters!

"STEEL DEPRESSION STAGGERING TO WALL STREET. ANALYST SEES END OF PROSPERITY ERA. Good bye, good times! The industrial machine geared to the tune of profits has reached the top of the grade and is now sliding down hill with a rapidity sickening to Wall Street."

(From The Daily Worker (Communist), New York, February 18, 1927.)

"Who Then Shall Escape?"

Below are the names of some people who are suspected of being connected with Moscow either as dupes or adepts, if we are to believe a pamphlet published by the Beckwith Press and entitled "La Follette—Socialism—Communism": Thomas W. Lamont, Judge Julian W. Mack, Alexander M. Bing, Professor Edwin M. Borchard, President Emeritus Arthur T. Hadley, President A. Lawrence Lowell, Professor Irving Fisher, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Former Assoc. Justice John H. Clarke, President Hamilton Holt, Samuel Mather (U. S. Steel Corporation) and Felix M. and Paul M. Warburg.

Are You a "Doubtful Citizen"?

"COMMUNISTS, SOCIALISTS, PACIFISTS, I. W. W.'S AND DOUBTFUL SOCIETIES AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING IN THE UNITED STATES": American Farm Bureau Federation, Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Association for International Conciliation, Church Peace Union, Congress of Forums, Foreign Policy Association, International Suffrage Alliance, National Woman's Party, Society of Friends, World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, World Peace Foundation of Boston.

(Selected from a list of some 275 organizations of all types issued by the Industrial Defense Association, Inc., Boston, Mass.)

Sincere but Ignorant

"It is not denied that these Pacifist societies contain many honest, sincere members who believe they are working in the interest of peace throughout the world, but unless they are ignorant of what is taking place in our country today, they must see that they are working shoulder to shoulder with those foreign agents who are openly striving to overthrow our Government and establish Sovietism in its stead.

"As to the extent of this subversive movement, let me quote the Secretary of State, of all men best informed and best able to speak with authority. He says:

"I doubt if you are aware of the amount of destructive revolutionary propaganda which is being secretly distributed in this country by foreign influences. . . . There cannot rest on anyone a more sacred duty than honestly and efficiently to serve his country and preserve its ideals and institutions."

(From a pamphlet entitled Subversive Minorities in America, by Major General Eli A. Helmick, Inspector-General, U. S. Army, and published by the American Defense Society.)

Peace by Doggerel

Must we train our boys for fighters,
When we claim to be for peace?
Will the military training,
Peace and happiness increase?
No, it will breed war and hatred,
Jealousy and all that tends,
To be, rivalry, increasing
And, in warfare, likely ends.

Don't corrupt our boys with thoughts of
Selfishness and greed and crime,
Or there'll be a bad awakening
And a sad and sorry time,
When their souls will be degraded
By the horrors of cruel war;
And a wave of crime will follow,
When the war time will be o'er.

(From the Llano Colonist, March 5, 1927.)

Mr. Mencken's Knowledge of Conditions

"On the whole this book is an exposition of the numerous welfare and employee management cooperative schemes which are the current rage in certain sections of the country, and which the professors who know nothing of the actual conditions, label as 'Industrial Democracy.' Mr. Lauck thinks that this 'Industrial Democracy' will 'in the fullness of time . . . encompass the earth.'"

(From a review by H. L. Mencken of "Political and Industrial Democracy," by W. Jett Lauck in The American Mercury, March, 1927.)

Youth Will Be Surprised

"The Youth Movement of today is probably the most dangerous of the subversive movements. Its object is to implant the theories and teachings of communism, socialism, and pacifism in the untutored, undeveloped minds of Youth before they reach the age of mature judgment."

(From Special Situation Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 2, of Scabbard and Blade, the national society.)

Roasting "Aimee"

"AIMEE CHASES DEVIL IN MANHATTAN; KNOWS HER ONIONS; GETS THE KALE; PERSONAL FEMININE CHARMS THROWN IN FOR GOOD MEASURE AS BOOBS AND SOPHISTICATES GURGLE IN THE SLOP."

(From The Daily Worker, New York, February 22, 1927.)

The Reds Are Everywhere

"There is hardly a school or college in the country in which a Communist nucleus, as they love to call it, has not been established. . . . Communism has also made its way into the churches."

(From The Reds in America, by R. M. Whitney, in the Boston Transcript.)

The Communists Become Pacifists

"The Communists are pacifists. They are pacifists for exactly the same reason that a burglar is against having a policeman in New York City, not because they abhor war, but because they wish to break down our national defenses."

(From an address by Mr. O. L. Smith, Assistant Attorney General of Michigan, published by the American Defense Society.)

Mr. Marvin Saves the Nation

"The apologists for Communism in the United States and other civilized countries may not understand the vast harm they are doing civilization and Christianity, but the harm is there just the same. The troubles in Mexico and Central America are but the first eruptions to be followed by many in Central American countries. The Communists and their apologists loudly cry 'Hands Off,' yet at the same time engage in a desperate attempt to sovietize all nations of the world. . . ."

"During the past several weeks the radical organizations through their press bureau known as the Federated Press, have wired to Mexico every utterance that was adverse to the people of the United States and favorable to the people of Mexico, to create the impression that the people of the United States are not back of the Administration, but, on the contrary, are practically united with Calles. When such men as Senators Borah and Wheeler give publicity to their mouthings, every word is transmitted to Mexico and played up in the more radical press of that country. Every gathering of pacifists and their allies, the Communists, in the United States is presented through the radical press, not only of Mexico but of all other countries, and the people of such countries are, by this system, given an entirely false impression as to feeling in the United States."

(From The Daily Data Sheet of the "Key Men of America" Dealing with Radical and Subversive Movements, issued by Fred R. Marvin, February 9, 1927.)

Let's Keep Mindanao!

"A valley capable of supporting 1,000,000 persons and inhabited by savages who never before had seen white men was discovered in an uncharted region of Mindanao Island by a party of explorers who returned here today."

(Press dispatches from Manila, December 21, 1926.)

How to Get on a Program—Afterwards

The scroll of history reveals that the editor of *The Daily Worker* (Communist) made some impromptu remarks before an unofficial group of students between sessions of the National Student Conference at Milwaukee. Now go on with the story—"Milwaukee, Wis., Jan. 2—J. Louis Engdahl, editor of *The Daily Worker*, addressing the national students' conference here, demanded—."

(From The Daily Worker, January 4, 1927.)

Proof Positive

"The relation of Miss Addams to the Red Movement of the United States would appear to be definitely fixed by the fact that she has for the past eleven years been president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which grew out of the International Congress of Women at the Hague, 1915, of which Miss Addams was international chairman."

(From What's What, September, 1926, published by the Industrial Defense Association, Inc., Boston, Mass.)

Those Radical Pulpits

"AMERICAN PULPIT CAPTURED BY RADICALS. Churches Made Links in Chain of Alien and 'Red' Propaganda in View of 'The Great Day' and 'The New Social Order.' Many Ministers Lured by Words That Stand for Things They Do Not See Nor Clearly Comprehend; Insidious Influences That Never Rest Inspire Numerous Sermons."

(From headlines over an article in The Dearborn Independent, January 9, 1926.)

"The Old Army Game"

"Recommended for discharge from his commission as chaplain in the officers' reserve corps, 83rd division, Captain Donald Timmerman today laughed at persons solicitous of his retaining his post. 'It's the old army game,' Timmerman said. 'They try to make army chaplains propaganda agents for a large army. Compulsory military training is un-American, but I would not object so much to that if they would not make the army chaplains encourage it.' He told of attending a meeting of army chaplains in Boston recently where all present were told to go back to their pulpits and preach 'Preparedness.'"

(From the Elyria (Ohio) Telegraph, February 16, 1927.)

That Little Appropriation

"The staff of the *R. O. T. C. Shield* has been able to enlarge the official publication of the R. O. T. C. Unit of the University as a result of the work of Captain C. D. Hindle, who has been able to get an additional appropriation for us. With this money the size of the issue has been enlarged from eight to sixteen pages. . . . It is hoped that with this forward step we will be able to make the *R. O. T. C. Shield* rank with similar publications of the country."

(From the R. O. T. C. Shield, of the University of Cincinnati, December, 1926.)

Table Talk of a Wobbly

"About a week ago five of us revolutionists were talking quietly about the *class struggle* at a table at which we were eating in a stew joint here in L. A., when the owner told us we could hold no such conversation in there. He said he was running the place."

"One Wobbly would have walloped the owner between the horns if we hadn't calmed him down. So we all pledged our word we would tell every radical to use his own discretion as to patronizing that place, as we considered, 'An Injury to One an Injury to All.'"

"The little 'Fairy' who runs the dump is dirty looking enough to do anything. I'd venture to say he would poison the stew for a revolutionist."

(A correspondent from Los Angeles in The Industrial Worker, February 5, 1927.)

How Red Is America?*

WILL IRWIN

OF late the public mind, as though infected, has itself been seeing red. When emotion like this comes in at the door, judgment flies out of the window. The extreme opponents of radicalism on one side, the committed radicals on the other, have written and talked as frenzied special pleaders—wildly, loosely, incoherently, as men wrote and talked in the heat of the late war.

In the general emotional fear of red radicalism, various special pleaders of special causes have a most potent tool. The trade of propaganda was developed by the late war into a fine art. It has its special tactics, its larger strategies, its infinite subtleties. Among the new methods is that of identifying with some universally unpopular school of thought that cause which you happen to be opposing. Our post-war propagandists, availing themselves of that dreaded social experiment in Russia, have worked this trick to death.

In 1922 began a deliberate campaign of subtle propaganda to confuse all pacifism of whatever degree with red economic radicalism. . . . The inference of the Spider-Web Chart was plain. Moscow had conceived, Moscow directed, the whole American peace movement. The women whom the Spider-Web Chart listed were agents of Lenin and Trotsky; the rest of the men and women working toward permanent peace were dupes.

Again, there was the matter of the Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution. When it came up for ratification by the states, mouth-to-ear propagandists carried the word that Lenin drafted it as part of a long, subtle Russian policy to infiltrate the United States with Communist ideas. The method was effective.

"Socialists and other Anarchists"—how often have I read that phrase in the past five years! To one who understands the subject, that is like saying "Baptists and other Catholics" or "Mormons and other Mohammedans." There lie between American radical groups differences in doctrine, in aims and in methods as wide as a church door.

The state, to the Communist, is everything; to the Socialist not everything perhaps, but most important. The Communist would strengthen government until it becomes what the majority of Americans would consider tyranny; the Socialist would enlarge its powers. But the Anarchist and the Syndicalist would destroy government altogether.

A fifth element, not radical at all, as I have defined the term, needs description at this point—regular labor unionism, as represented among us by the American Federation of Labor and the Big Four of the railway trainmen. Europeans call our Federation and the railroad brotherhoods the most conservative large labor bodies in the world. They have no official quarrel with the present social system; with capital or with capitalism of itself. They merely attempt, through collective bargaining, to secure for the worker better hours, wages and working conditions.

At the last election only 36,000 adult Americans cared enough about Communism to vote for it. "Probably," wailed Zinovieff, head of the Third International, "there are fewer than 5,000 Communists in America upon whom we can really depend." The chance of an immediate Social Revolution in the United States was not merely remote; it did not exist.

* From a new book just published by J. H. Sears and Co.

Do the American Communists get funds from Russia? At times, yes; but possibly not just now. Two or three years ago, the Third International made an appropriation for propaganda among our Negroes. That is the only open and certain record. Other transactions smell of foreign money.

Compared with the enormous total population of this country the Communists are a most insignificantly small faction. When they split off from the Socialist Party in 1919 they numbered at least 50,000 committed zealots. In 1925, the Chicago headquarters reported 20,000 members of the Workers' Party; and in 1926 it listed 16,000. In common with most reliable authorities on American radicalism, I believe that these figures are accurate. Not more than 6,000 or 7,000 of the regular members are American citizens.

The I. W. W. has now probably about 16,000 members. This organization is dying; it has no fringe left. To that we may add perhaps 3,000 simon-pure Anarchists. Finally there are no more than 75,000 Communists, party members and fringe alike. Very well, 16,000 plus 3,000 plus 75,000 equals 94,000. To be liberal, and to make calculation easier, let us throw in a thousand and say that the adults of the deep red revolution element in the United States may number 95,000. There are 57,000,000 or 58,000,000 adults among our 117,000,000 souls. The revolutionaries, therefore, amount at the most liberal calculation to one-sixth of one per cent of our population. If you follow the guess of the government expert whom I have quoted above, the count shrinks to one-eighth of one per cent.

Never since the great Eastern and Southern European influx began in the last years of the last century did American radicalism stand at so low an ebb as in the winter of 1926-27. I repeat: the "revolutionary reds," according to the best estimates I can find, number at most liberal estimate only one-sixth of one per cent of our population; and the whole strictly radical element, revolutionary and evolutionary together, certainly not more than one per cent. This may comfort those nervous citizens who still have nightmares of shooting behind the barricades. It will perhaps give less consolation to certain propagandists whose business it is to advance special interests by playing on the fear of a social revolution.

Instead of Clubs

"The brutalities at Passaic could never have occurred in Great Britain. The people simply would not have stood for it. During the heart of the [general] strike I arranged meetings over the country which were pro-labor and which were attended by the highest officers of the military service and by the police. Foot-ball games were arranged by the police and the strikers."

—MARGARET BONDFIELD, M.P.

as quoted in *The Modern World*.

How War Propaganda Won

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

PROPAGANDA in war is not new. Caesar's *Gallic War* is in many ways a good illustration among the ancients. Napoleon's army bulletins are classics of a more modern type. The most important thing he has to report about the terrible Russian disaster is: "The health of his Majesty has never been better."

But in the last war propaganda was king. It won significant victories on the battlefield. The Austro-Hungarian lines, for example, were riddled not so much by the overwhelming odds of Russians, but by the far more effective paper bullets of Allied propaganda. It is said that about 400,000 Czech deserters found their way into the Russian lines helped by Seton-Watson and William Stead. In the army of the Archduke Frederick alone between 12,000 to 36,000 troops were hanged for attempted desertion. The German army was attacked in a similar way. Small balloons carrying about four pounds of leaflets released by a time fuse were sent against their lines. With a favorable wind they carried right into the German trenches and at times as far as 150 miles beyond. Some 5,360,000 leaflets were "fired" in a single month in 1918, and these "poisoned arrows" were very effective.

BUT this article is concerned with the propaganda on the home front, and particularly that in the United States. From the very outset it was of supreme importance to both sides in the war to gain the help or at least the friendly neutrality of this country. Both tried hard to win us over. In this business the Allies had a great advantage over the Central Powers. Not only was there (through England) a field prepared by common language and literature, traditions and institutions, but the cables carrying European news had been for many years entirely in their control.

Other factors came to the help of the Allies. Opinions differ widely as to the effectiveness of German propaganda, but there can hardly be a doubt that it was largely clumsy, remote and negative. Treaties were "scraps of paper"; the Belgian violation was wrong, but dictated by necessity which knows no laws; the Nordics were God's own people; the Christmas tree was very beautiful; metaphysics were very important. Add to that never-ending denials, from the time of the notorious manifesto of the German professors to the end of the war. When in May, 1915, the *Lusitania* was sunk German propaganda in the United States scarcely had a chance and was increasingly given up. Further efforts were a waste of time and money. Beautiful Christmas trees and important metaphysics

and God's own Nordics meant nothing to a people constantly reminded of the *Lusitania's* dead.

We must note also that at the very start of the war the British made an extremely lucky and valuable find. In searching a sinking German ship they found the secret code used by the Germans during the war in sending messages through the air. They concealed their find very carefully. But for the duration of the war they caught and decoded everything that went out by German wireless. They knew where the submarines were and what orders had been issued to them. They virtually made useless the German news service to neutral states, because they corrected the "errors" very effectively. They caught the famous Zimmermann Note which sought to stir up trouble in Mexico and let America have credit for the discovery. Thus the Allies won the battle of propaganda. It is to their activities that we must now turn.

BRITISH propaganda in the United States was briefly but significantly sketched—perhaps in an unguarded moment—by the man in charge, Sir Gilbert Parker. As an introduction to an urgent plea to America at the time of the greatest Allied crisis early in 1918, he told of the work he had been carrying on in this country. (*Harper's Magazine*, March, 1918.) This is what he tells:

"Practically since the day war broke out between England and the Central Powers I became responsible for American publicity. I need hardly say that the scope of my department was very extensive and its activities widely ranged. Among the activities was a weekly report to the British cabinet on the state of American opinion and constant touch with the permanent correspondents of American newspapers in England. I also frequently arranged for important public men in England to act for us by interviews in American newspapers. . . .

Among other things we supplied 360 newspapers in the smaller States of the United States with an English newspaper which gave a weekly review and comment on the affairs of the war. We established contact with the man in the street with cinema pictures of the army and navy, as well as through interviews, articles, pamphlets, etc., and by letters in reply to individual American critics, which were printed in the chief newspaper of the State in which they lived and were copied in newspapers of other and neighboring States.

We advised and stimulated many people to write articles; we utilized the friendly services and assistance of confidential friends; we had reports from important Americans constantly and established association by personal correspondence with influential and eminent people of every profession in the United States, beginning with university and college presidents, professors and scientific men, and running through all the ranges of the population. We asked our friends and correspondents to arrange for speeches,

debates and lectures by American citizens, but we did not encourage Britishers to go to America and preach the doctrine of entrance into the war. Besides an enormous private correspondence with individuals we had our documents and literature sent to great numbers of public libraries, Y. M. C. A. societies, universities, colleges, historical societies, clubs and newspapers.

It is hardly necessary to say that the work was one of extreme difficulty and delicacy."

Nor did Sir Gilbert tell all. In the *London Times* of November 16, 1917, Lord Northcliffe wrote in reply to Lloyd George that there were 500 officials of the British War Mission in the United States with 10,000 assistants. There is still much untold in the story of British propaganda in this country. What we know is so significant that we may begin to understand our newspapers and magazines, the speeches and movies of the war years as they really were.

THE French side of the story is even more extraordinary. Three years ago a French editor wrote an astonishing book about French journalism from the inside. He included a chapter on its workings during the war. Among others, he discloses the following: With the declaration of war the French government appropriated an initial 25,000,000 francs for propaganda. A large building of five stories, the *Maison de la Presse* became headquarters. In the 200 rooms of this structure were huge presses, a photographic department, a translation department, a literary department, etc.

The business of the *Maison de la Presse* was to arouse France and the world against Germany. Sometimes the Germans played into their hands. A German officer in Africa ignored all Mohammedan customs and taboos in his orders. The whole Mohammedan world was appraised of that fact at once. But such opportunities were not always at hand. So the men at the *Maison* deliberately manufactured to suit their needs. What will be of greatest interest to Americans is the work of the photo-chemical department. In this section were the best artists of France. They produced in lifelike miniature whatever was wanted. When atrocity evidence was in demand they modeled women and children mutilated, with hands cut off, tongues torn out, eyes gouged out and skulls crushed. The photographers used these to make pictures that served as "indisputable evidence" of German atrocities. The artists produced ruined churches, rifled graves, scenes of frightful destruction. These the photographers sent into the world as pictures taken *in situ*. Stories were written for these pictures in the literary section which a staff of eighty translators sent out in eighteen languages. This propaganda of "facts" easily won over the German propaganda or "argument."

THE rest of this article might be spent with the activities of the *Maison de la Presse*, but we must hurry on to our own propaganda after we had been drawn into the maelstrom while playing too near to its

edge. We have seen that the Allies manufactured and spread the "facts" for American consumption. Once in the war we determined to do our own propaganda. The Committee on Public Information was created with George Creel as chairman. "The printed word, the spoken word, the motion picture, the telegraph, the cable, the wireless, the poster, the sign-board" were pressed into service. 150,000 men and women devoted themselves to *specialized* activities. Thirty booklets full of half truths and "lies by silence" were prepared by leading historians which were spread in 75,000,000 copies in the United States, while other millions went elsewhere. No fewer than 75,000 speakers operating in 5,200 communities delivered 755,190 speeches as Four Minute Men. Translators, advertisers, artists, publicists, movie actors and producers were called in to help. Libraries and reading rooms were flooded with pamphlets and books; movie plots included "Huns" that looked not half as civilized as the Neanderthal man, "Huns" who never saw a church but they set fire to it, who cut the hands off every child they met. "Actual war pictures" were produced immediately outside New York City. Pulpits and lecture platforms were filled by hysterical men and women, victims of this poisonous propaganda, who were "doing their bit" to spread more hatred. All this George Creel calls a "record of stainless patriotism and unspotted Americanism."

Propaganda has been defined as "a longer way to spell lie." After a glance at the machinery employed, it will be valuable to point to such items of propaganda as were in their day very effective but which we have since recognized as lies.

A very important story was that of the Potsdam conference. Early in July, 1914, so we were told, the Kaiser had called a meeting of all the important military, naval, financial and industrial leaders at Potsdam in which the war was decided on. The bankers had asked for an extension of time that they might call in their foreign loans. This was granted. The war was postponed till the end of July. Q. E. D. The story was told on the authority of our Ambassador Morgenthau, who had it from the German Ambassador Wangenheim. The German's source was an eaves-dropping and gossiping waiter in a Berlin cafe. There is not a shred of truth in the story.

There is the story of German "corpse factories." General Charteris very generously helped us to understand this one. During the war we were told that the Germans gathered in their dead and put them through a "cadaver factory" in order to gain from them fats so sorely needed in their country. Pictures were adduced to prove this. Also a diary found on a dead German. The General told us about these "corpse factories." He had two pictures, one showing the removal of dead horses to the "cadaver factory" and the other showing

the removal of dead soldiers for burial. He very simply changed the titles, sent the burial picture with the new title to China to stir Chinese wrath against the profaners of ancestor worship. Then he forged a German diary to clinch the matter and planted this on a dead German, where his men found it. Thanks for clearing that one, General!

AFTER that we are perhaps ready for the Belgian atrocity stories. What made these stories credible was the fact that a man of the intelligence and integrity of Viscount Bryce vouched for them in his famous *Report*—still a puzzle for many today. If hands were cut from children, if women were mutilated, if Canadians were crucified to barn doors, the most painstaking search for those victims has to this day revealed not one. Lord Northcliffe offered several thousand pounds to anyone for authentic evidence. No one ever claimed the money. What of the *Bryce Report*? The *Report* states that "the most weighty part of the evidence" are diaries taken from the German dead. In view of the Charteris revelations, is it a fair guess that the *Bryce Report* is built on forged diaries?¹

Then there is the *Lusitania*. Nothing can excuse the brutal sinking of the vessel without providing safety for the passengers. But why were so many eager to conceal the obvious facts relative to the disaster? It seems incredible that for years there was a denial that the vessel carried ammunition, that Senator La Follette was almost ousted from the Senate for so declaring, that the United States Government refused to give information on the point because this was a state secret. Yet on May 9, 1915, the *New York Times*, and I suppose all other papers, printed a statement by Herman Winter, Assistant Manager of the Cunard Line, that there were on board 4,200 cases of cartridges, but that this was not ammunition. Nor was it told at the time that the British Admiralty was puzzled by the event. Winston Churchill (in *The World Crisis*, II, 347) says that the vessel was warned by the Admiralty four times that submarines were active in those parts. The orders were to leave the regular trade routes, keep zigzagging and go at top speed. Following these orders he figured it practically impossible for a submarine of that time to harm the ship. The vessel received the warnings, kept right in the trade routes as always, did not zigzag at all and traveled at three-quarter speed. The *Annual Register* for 1915 tries to explain these facts—with only partial success, but in America we have had almost complete silence on them.

¹ *Current History* II, 259, ff. (1915), reproduces in facsimile a number of these diaries. The first impression is an astonishing sameness in the writing. It is true that many Germans write the hand found in these specimens, the German-Gothic cursive that has gone to school with the Latin cursive. All the diaries are written in this hand. But far more Germans write either the Latin cursive or the straight German-Gothic cursive. Another surprising thing is that almost every one of these diaries tells of brutalities committed against women and children, which the writer censures severely. Is this conceivable among troops hysterically patriotic marching on to victory? If these are the diaries Bryce worked with—and they seem to be—what conclusions may we draw?

PERHAPS some day a catalogue will be made of war lies, ranging from important military stories to ridiculous trifles. This catalogue would include the platforms prepared by the Germans for their guns at Maubeuge, the hanging of Belgian priests as clappers in the bells at Antwerp, the outraging of 29 out of 60 nuns in a Belgian convent, the clipping of chaplains' ears by Uhlans, the tale that *Deutschland, Deutschland ueber alles* is an imperialist song, the story that the Germans have a hymn exalting Hindenburg as god (arising, no doubt, from Luther's hymn, *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*), the fraudulent use of cartoons from Germany giving them new titles and meaning; everything from the lying "rainbow books" of the various governments to the contemptible inventions of the *Providence Journal*; everything from street car denunciation of the satanic trinity, Nietzsche, Treitschke and Bernhardt, to the pro-German muskrats with Hohenzollern mustaches that troubled parts of Long Island.

And it might well include some of the results, refined and unrefined. "Hellish Huns! Damn Germ-huns! Hang the Kaiser! Swinish Boches!" (pronounced *botches*, whatever it means)—"Ladies and Gentlemen: German culture is inferior to all other, because Germany alone retains the barbaric medieval alphabet."—"Hey you guy, take off your hat! Can't you hear they're playing *My country 'tis of thee*?"—"Ladies and Gentlemen: I used to worship at the shrine of Goethe and Heine, but never again will I sully my hands and my mind by taking up a German book."—"Did you hear that the Kaiser is crazy? And the Crown Prince drinks blood every day! God, if we could only get that



guy! We'd lynch 'im and burn 'im alive!"—"Say, hear what they done in Chi? Got two Huns standing together on a statue; Gurde or Goath or how he says his name, and Skiller. Last night the boys went out and painted 'em yellow. That-a-boy. We'll show those Germ-huns!"—"My friends: I used to buy German goods, in fact I used to insist on seeing the Made in Germany when I bought. But now I've signed the pledge. Never as much as a tooth pick again from the Huns. And every good red blooded American ought to sign the pledge, too!"—"Well, you asked me to tell you why I joined the army. You see this is a war for democracy against the Huns. We might have kept out, but when those Serbians got to killing the Australians² we had to chip in, otherwise the Huns would be in the good old U. S. A. next thing you know."—"My fellow Christians: The Germans are still barbarians. They

worship their old pagan war gods. We must show them that the Christian God of America is more powerful than the pagan Donar or Oden."—"How about that chap that lives next to you? Got a Hun name, ain't he? Maybe we ought to paint his house yellow for him, the dirty old Hun!"—"And then, friends, there's German music. This man Wagner writes nothing but war music. It's something like Sousa's grand marches, but it's all for war. That's why I say we ought to banish all German music and stay with such really great and inspiring musicians like Sousa."—"My friends, let us not overlook the insidious menace of German fried potatoes, or of sauerkraut—henceforth to be known forever as Liberty cabbage."

Propaganda and war are today more closely linked than ever before. If men will not get rid of war, they are always due for a rude awakening—ten years after—when it becomes clear that they have hated and fought and killed for propaganda—for lies.

² See Edith Durham, *The Serajevo Crime*, p.9, for this story.

A Picture of the Public Mind

NORMAN ANGELL*

MUCH of what precedes in this book is an attempt to bring home the shortcomings of the Public Mind, the collective decisions of democracy. That attempt has been made because only by realizing the extent and nature of public folly can we hope to make democracy a success. To go on saying: "The Voice of the People is the Voice of God" with the implication that the "people" are "naturally" right is to be as guilty as the navigator who should say: "There are no reefs in the ocean that I need bother about." From that moment, the reefs become a deadly danger to his ship. The navigator who says: "Why of course there are reefs: I have them marked on my chart and I know how to avoid them" has robbed those traps of nearly all their danger.

The hope of democracy lies in fully realizing the truth that the voice of the people is usually the voice of Satan. . . .

I suggest, not that the Press is the cause of that lack of balance in public judgment which has so often in the recent past made democracy unworkable (for the cause must include deeply-rooted, anti-social instincts of human nature), but that a certain section of the Press is pushed, as a first condition of its existence, to intensify the human weaknesses which lie at the root of most public folly; to render them more unmanageable, to become the exploiter and developer of immensely dangerous, disruptive forces. This does not, of course, apply generally to that section which is organized into great industrial combinations, involving

capital running into millions, and which must, consequently, in order to pay dividends, maintain enormous circulations at all costs, and so take the shortest of all possible cuts to exciting the interest of all and sundry—factory girls, school-boys, teashop waitresses—in such public questions as may happen to come up.

WHAT DO?

ON the face of it, it would seem that right judgment in ethical and moral questions, judgments which are about everyday things, based upon facts known to us all, the great commonplaces of life and human nature, would be so much easier to grasp than knowledge of the elaborate science of the atom and the electron and the bacterium, with all the toil and labor that it implies.

But evidently it is much more difficult to produce wisdom in everyday things, to get the great commonplaces right, than to be an expert in recondite subjects. The qualities needed for the latter—industry, application, patience—can look after themselves very much more than the schoolmaster would seem to think. The qualities demanded for true judgment about social and political conduct—judgments about large general issues which as citizens we are compelled to make—qualities which imply ratiocination, a certain capacity for speculation, open-mindedness, other-mindedness, "logic," the capacity for individual judgment, these plainly require a special nursing.

But the development of that sort of aptitude is not

* Excerpts from "The Public Mind," by Norman Angell. Reviewed in this issue.

a "subject" in our schools at all. We have a grammar of speech to enable students to detect errors in language but we have no grammar of evidence or of truth to help in the interpretation of those things we are compelled to judge every day in our ordinary lives. Logic, as we now know it, is almost worse than useless; and perhaps the thing ought not to be a "subject" at all but a method of approach and dealing with all subjects so as to develop that particular capacity. The main thing is to be aware of the need. It is pathetic and astonishing how little aware we have been of it and perhaps still are.

Our scale of values in "instruction" and "information" as apart from education needs revision. Why should it be thought indispensable to let a child know that the earth is round and rotates on its axis, to teach it a good deal about the heavenly bodies, but be deemed quite unnecessary to let it know anything about, say, money and its place in the mechanism of society? For a great many people to believe the earth to be flat would do no particular social damage, but for a great many people to believe that waste is good for trade, machinery bad for labor, that the foreigner can and should send us plenty of money but no goods, are ideas (all but universal in Europe) which cause immeasurable misery and suffering. They impoverish the Western world, help to maintain its armies and navies and its causeless but bloody rivalries. Our children are taught more of the mechanism of the sun and the moon than of the human society in which they live.

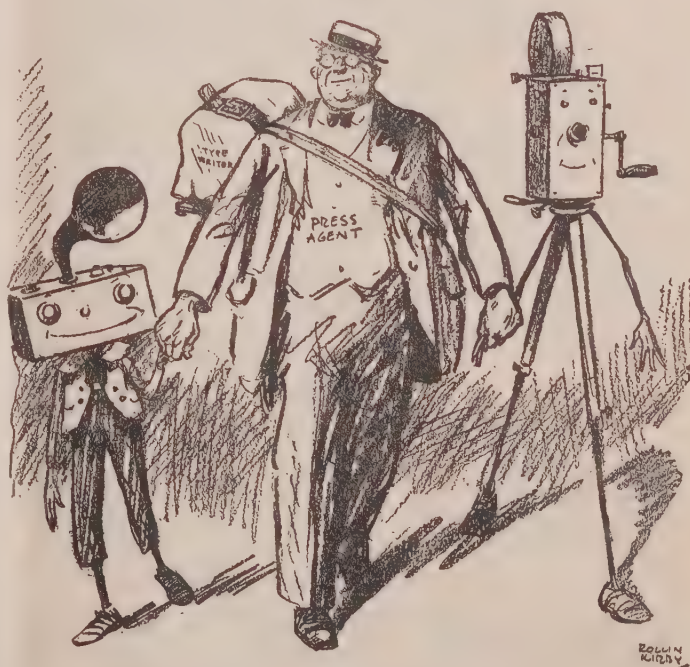
Happily the teachers themselves can do something. They can make their job much more difficult by insisting even more than they have done (and of late they have done a good deal in this respect) that a knowledge of isolated facts is not education; that the very poorest way of testing education is to find out how many "facts" the pupil knows—the date of a certain battle, the name of a certain poet, the length of a certain river; that, indeed, such knowledge is, for the most part, utterly useless, and that what matters is the capacity to see how the facts pushed under our noses every day of our lives should affect our daily conduct.

WORK FOR INDIVIDUAL JUDGMENT

WHEN we say that the decision in vital social matters is thrown upon the "community," the "nation," we mean that it is thrown upon John Smith and Mary Brown—the individuals, that is, who compose the community or the nation. For a community or a nation cannot decide or think; only men and women can think. And if Smith decides some matter of morals or politics, say, in one way because Brown has decided it that way, and Brown has decided it that way because Smith has decided it that way, what are the

grounds upon which Smith and Brown have based their faith and their decision?

Yet that is exactly our position today toward what the inquisitor would have called the "mob" and the governance of the world. This is the stultifying contradiction in our present conceptions of democracy. For having said in effect that as individuals we really cannot decide, but must leave it to authority, we immediately, as democrats, add: "We are that authority, and woe betide anyone who forgets it." "Leave it to the President," said America in 1918, and lynched anyone who seemed to challenge the President's view. But when the President, in the fullness of his authority, presented to the American people the rules he laid down—the Covenant of the League and the Treaty of Versailles—the same people who had "left it to the President" and had refused to allow any free discussion or adequate examination of the President's opinions promptly rejected those opinions and would have nothing of them. Those who had forbidden judgment, judged. We fear to encourage in men the habit of individual judgment, but entrust our lives to the hazard of that judgment. We do nothing to develop the capacity for individual judgment in the ordinary man; it irritates us when he displays it (we dislike people who do not share our opinions, and we are careful so to organize our lives that we are reminded as seldom as possible of such impertinence: to take no papers, join no clubs, read no books, hear no preachers that do not agree with us). But we make that individual judg-



THE PROPAGANDIST'S EQUIPMENT

—From N. Y. World, August 20, 1924

ment, multiplied a few million times, the ultimate authority in our society.

GOODNESS IS NOT ENOUGH

WE like to feel that "goodness" is enough. "Be good, fair maid, and let who will be clever" implies that good conduct can be secured without the trouble of much thought or intelligence. No less representative a person than President Coolidge expressed the view in clear terms in one of his recent speeches:

"Good citizenship is not so much a matter of information as of disposition, not so much of the head as of the heart, not so much dependent upon knowledge as upon sentiment. Those who want to do right have little difficulty in finding out the right."

It is only fair to add that Mr. Baldwin is quite capable of making the same speech, although the British Prime Minister, having just failed completely to find a solution for the coal crisis, has very good reason to know that a good disposition and a sound heart will hardly suffice for a country in the position of Great Britain; it is not possible to provide for its people without an extremely scientific attention to such details as the relation of currency policy to unemployment and trade. Without, that is, an intellectual effort that constitutes a good deal more than "honesty, industry and thrift." Will the currency difficulties of France or the other European belligerents just solve themselves if the people are "good"? The French people are industrious, thrifty, and honest beyond most: but those qualities will not enable them to distinguish between good and bad plans of franc stabilization, and without such mundane qualities as technical competence, no honesty or industry or thrift can possibly prevent vast miseries.

This refusal to see that the world can suffer just as much from the errors of good men as from the sins of wicked is due in large part doubtless to the desire to preserve an over-simplified belief in the essential rightness of reward and punishment as now operative. As intelligence is not a matter of the will, and people cannot be "clever" just by trying, we feel that they ought not to be punished for being stupid.

But is it not possible that certain stupidities which have of late been so mischievous may be due to defects which we should call moral in their nature—to laziness, to dislike of disciplines, to desires to indulge passions and give them grand names, to avoid that sweat of the brow which alone, we have been told, can bring us salvation?

CONCLUSION:

IN the last resort, educational reform, like all the other elements of progress towards a better collective judgment, a better public mind, will depend upon that revision of moral values about which I have

spoken. Can we acquire a feeling of the moral obligation to apply intelligence, and so to observe the conditions of truth that we do not become more stupid than we need be? So far, our standards have encouraged the flagrant violation of those conditions which, among other things, include the duty not to believe except on good evidence, to hold an open mind, to listen to countervailing views, to be tolerant of opposing opinion, to have patience with the person who has the impudence to disagree with us, to hate demagoguery as at times the vilest form of intellectual prostitution. Our standards do not encourage the will to apply the tests of intelligence. The fair maid must be "good," not clever.

It is not true that intelligent behavior is unrelated to the will, stupidity something which can in no measure be affected by any effort of the will. Many of the conditions of truth, the attitude which will give us a greater chance of seeing the facts, are matters of the will. We can restrain our temper sufficiently to listen to a countervailing view; we can watch our vanities; can stop to inquire of ourselves whether we are obeying an irrelevant sympathy or hostility. These social disciplines are as possible, if cultivated, as was the discipline which enabled the theatre audience to check its momentary onrush to the doors upon being reminded by the manager of what would follow that stampede.

We have succeeded fairly well in the management of matter. We make steam and electricity, and sometimes the ether, do largely what we want. But we have not succeeded in making our minds, tempers, natures, do what we want. There we are all the puppets of forces we often do not see, or face, or understand. We must both face and understand them more completely. From the conquest of inanimate nature we must go forward to the conquest of human nature.



P R O P A G A N D A

Education, Not Propaganda

RHODA E. McCULLOCH

IN a serial story now running in the *Saturday Evening Post* there is a scene around the fireside of a hotel in a small Vermont town. A group of "natives" are considering what would be involved in the cancellation of the foreign debts. The city man who listens in soliloquizes:

"He was surprised. He was more than surprised, for even he himself, accustomed to finance as he was, had never thought of the matter in the light in which this young man presented it. Here was clear, concise thought, the swift checkmating of the argument; that men in this distant village so far from financial centers should be interested in such matters. He did not know that it was in such places as this, by such voices as these, that public opinion for the country is created; that it is so that men are lifted to eminence and parties carried forward to victory; that it is such little gatherings as this, in such little places as this, that rule the United States of America. He was sitting at the fountainhead of republican government and did not know it."

Why was the city man surprised or even amazed by this scene? Certainly because he had had little occasion to observe public opinion in the making; he did not know a laboratory of social action when he saw it. More than that, he himself confesses that he had never thought of the matter under discussion in the light in which this group set it forth.

He had supposed, perhaps, that inasmuch as democracy rested upon the "consent of the governed," the "governees" would start their thinking with a consideration of the solution proposed to them by those completely informed on the subject.

AND yet, if we have discovered even a glimmer of light on the mysteries of the learning process, that light is most clear at one point: We are reasonably sure that you cannot impose upon a child or an adult a behavior-solution which is not grounded in problems of his own that he recognizes as of deep concern to him personally and to which solution he has not proceeded by a common sense sequence of thought processes—that is, if you are expecting him to learn something and to act upon the results of his learning.

If the Vermont group followed through this commonsense sequence in their discussion—and that the story does not reveal—they started their discussion by recounting a series of incidents out of thin experience with the every-day ebb and flow of cash and credits. Some one suggested that the constant elements in these experiences were related to certain pending problems in the financial life of the nation—the agrarian problem, pending bills in the legislative bodies of the state and nation bearing on banking procedures, the latest tariff proposal, the problem of getting the war debts to the United States paid.

Now, that was the rock-bottom problem in the pile. If these nations were to pay us what they owed, all would be well. But, some one would timidly urge, there are some who believe that it would be better for all of us if these debts were cancelled. After the first wave of horror and ridicule the group might begin to collect out of their recent reading or the oratorical presentations of local partisans of some particular solution to this problem a hatful of ways out. The very statement of these several solutions would give courage to hitherto taciturn listeners-in to point out the values at stake in each possible course of action.

In a kind of kermess movement of thought and opinion the group would settle down to face the conflicting points of view that had developed. Their own interests, which they now see to be related to this question of international policy, constrain them to be concerned with a way out rather than with a howling oratory of debate, so they would begin eliminating the points on which they are agreed; the order of the day is to find the spots of widest difference of opinion. At those points they will need new light. Sources outside the experience of the group will have to be tapped for data that will serve to reduce this field of disagreement until the group finally discovers a lane of action on which they are agreed.

In this first result, the lane of action will probably not be the broad highway of solution demanded by the propagandist. Its significance will be that because it is grounded in local concerns, there is a fair chance that the way out taken by the group will be hitched to a course of action to which they can actually set their hands. In the case of this particular subject under discussion a possible way out might be a plan to secure understanding of the question on the part of the community with a possible event of informing the long line of political prophets which connects the village with the universe of international statecraft that the village folk believe that the nation should move in a certain direction.

The propagandist himself, in his own study and research, goes through these same processes, but when he connects with the Vermont group he starts in at the point of his definite proposal, merely giving the group one of the considerations that have brought *him* to his conviction and spending most of his energy on convicting them likewise.

BETWEEN the concept of that Vermont village as a fountainhead of republican government and the current picture of it as the target of a garden hose we should discover the right-about-face distinctions be-

tween propaganda as an instrument for social change and that way of life which we term education.

There is the situation itself, the setting for the problem. The propagandist gives the other fellow the situation as he himself sees it. He has thought it all out—to save the time of the other person or (we must admit it) to make sure that the problem is so stated as to lead surely to the solution which, in neatly typed form, resides in his vest pocket.

There is a vast difference between a look at Nicaragua out of the daily experience of a butcher in Greensboro and in view of that situation from the office windows of a society or group organized to expose the imperialistic tendencies of our foreign policy. The butcher views life in pieces, the pieces of his own experience. A cloud no larger than a man's hand covers his whole horizon: How shall he collect his bad debt? Why doesn't Johnny take his school work more seriously? How can he raise the price of porterhouse steaks to cover the rise in price that the distributors are demanding without throwing the trade to his competitor? Why are so many of the old summer residents now spending their summers in Europe? He has a "retail" approach to the problems of life.

The propagandist sees life in a "wholesale" fashion. In his non-combustible file of clippings and speeches the headings are "Tariff," "Agrarian Situation," "Foreign Policy," "Industrial Democracy," et cetera. The propagandist, therefore, looks for ways by which he can sell a hogshhead of maple syrup to the butcher who is concerned only with enough syrup for a brace of pancakes.

The educator looks for a way by which he can develop the potentialities of the butcher's experience to the point at which he sees that the solving of his own daily problem is tied up in a network of cause and effect which can only be tackled through increased understanding of social responsibilities and effective group action.

Protesting shouts are now heard from the "wholesalers." "You are merely assisting people in churning up their own ignorance." "Citizens of the United States are already too provincial in their thinking; this approach will make them more so." "Who will show them the moral significance of these problems of social adjustments?"

In the first place, experience seems to prove that community groups which tackle knotty social questions from the point of view of their own interests do move slowly but surely toward a realization that they need more facts about the situation that they are discussing than their own experience affords. Facts about current social problems are now almost a complete monopoly of those who have some program or solution to put over. If within the coming years there is any considerable advance in educational programs which are built out of the needs and interests of the ultimate consumer rather than out of the campaigning minds of social

reformers, we shall have to find ways in which clean facts, winnowed of slants, prejudices and "ultimate solutions," can be supplied to citizens who want to build their own understanding of their social responsibilities.

The second answer to these shouts of demurral from the propagandist is a polite question: Why is it that those who believe themselves to be most keenly sensitized to the values of human life have so little faith in the capacities of common folk for regenerative social action?

But how can you be sure that you will get action, or even intent to act, out of such a process? Here is the nub of the whole matter. Those who raise this question are prone to measure action results by the number of those who "stand for" what they believe to be the only solution possible. And perhaps because they have viewed the problem in the bulk, they demand a bulk solution. The net result of a program of propaganda is usually counted in terms of the number of proponents and antagonists of the solution to any social problem set forth by the propaganda. What you get, therefore, is more apt to be protest against the status quo rather than constructive next steps toward a way out. With no intent to minimize the values of protest, one may still question whether we should not get along better with fewer shriekers and more builders.



THE PROPAGANDA FUNNEL

—From *Locomotive Engineers Journal*, March, 1927

An interesting illustration of the inefficiency of this shriek technique is furnished by a consideration of the programs of the past five years which have to do with "education" in regard to international affairs. These programs have stirred the interest and concern of a widening group of people in an area of life which is new to their concern. But we have made no large discoveries of ways by which this new interest in international affairs can be channeled down into group action that really counts. These discoveries of action handles on the making of our foreign policy will undoubtedly come only as groups rooted in a normal community find their next steps in making their opinion count, first in the community, and then, step by step, through the widening arc of their responsible relationships.

THERE are some satisfactions that we shall have to forego if we take the way of life which is education.

We shall have to give up the stimulating conviction that all progress depends on the feverish march through the country of itinerant preachers of social reform. Most of the money spent for Pullman meals will have to go into the training of "native" leadership. There are many butchers, perhaps not in Greensboro, who, with a little help, could be more effective in starting a community down the ways of creative social thinking than any number of one-night lecturers. With a slight rewording, the cities and towns of this country might well use as a warning on their signboards the notice put up in an English coal mine: "Visitors are requested not to fall down the pit, as there are workmen at the bottom."

We shall have to change the current of our expectations and believe confidently that new and better ways out of our social and political relationships will come out of the common or garden variety citizens in small towns and villages. This is a hard saying for those of us who live in the metropolitan centers of so-called thought. Perhaps there was ironic truth in the response of a Philadelphia publisher to whom a Southern book-

seller telegraphed for a copy of "Seekers After God," by Canon Farrar. He wired back: "No seekers after God in Philadelphia or New York. Try Boston." He might have added, "try Greensboro."

Would it be fair to add that we shall have to step down from the eminence to which we may have attained as students of affairs, and think of ourselves as participating with groups in their endeavor to think their way out to social action rather than assuming that we are leading them to our own dizzy heights. "I have not time to waste in this fashion," the propagandist replies. "I have given years of study to the question of industrial relationships and I *know* how industry should be organized."

One other attitude of mind we shall have to drop somewhere along the way of education—our sense of haste. You can get a fairly strong battery of postcards to the Senate within a few days by the use of mobilized mailing lists, but you cannot change superficial thinking to seasoned consideration over night. Perhaps our goals are too short, our faith in the long, slow processes of social redemption too faint.

The tide of propaganda is so strong that any attempt to set forth the values of another way of life becomes in an ironic fashion a kind of propaganda in itself. Dr. Kirkpatrick has neatly made this point, and in doing so has most aptly defined the process of creative discussion:

"This procedure is propaganda for the position that people should learn to think and decide for themselves. It is propaganda for the position that we do right to make more people more capable of deciding and more disposed toward deciding for themselves in social and political matters. If this be democracy—and in this field it would be hard to find a better definition—then this procedure is propaganda for this democratic procedure. But even here, by implication at any rate, the procedure is self-corrective. It promises to build the habits and attitudes which are most likely to criticize itself."



Not in the Headlines

AGNES A. SHARP

Einstein and Michelson Honored

Professor Albert Einstein and Professor A. A. Michelson, the two distinguished scientists, have been elected members of the All Russian Academy of Science.

Fiume—1927

The Hungarian Government has agreed, in principle, with the Italian proposal that Fiume should henceforth be the chief port for Hungarian trade. Premier Bethlen, of Hungary, expects to visit Italy, to settle by direct negotiation several pressing economic problems affecting Hungary's outlet to the Adriatic.

1926 Books Total 6,883

According to *The Publishers' Weekly*, 6,883 books were published by 173 American publishing houses in 1926. The greatest number of books issued by any one firm was 614 by the Macmillan Company. It would be interesting to know whether any one person in the Macmillan organization read all those books and, if so, what he did with his spare time.

Extracts of Bituminous Coal

The foremost scientists and the largest capitalists of the world are now endeavoring to bring into accord the best of the seventy-five processes now used for extracting from bituminous coal the treasures it contains. It is hoped to perfect some of the processes now used for obtaining gasoline from this source. One of the methods consists of making the coal into a paste and forcing hydrogen gas into it; another converts the coal into a compound gas and liquefies the gases by means of a catalyst.

American Holdings in Mexico

The following table gives the value of the principal American property holdings in Mexico, based on estimates made for the Government:

Railway properties	\$248,157,854
Mines	216,187,000
Oil lands	200,000,000
Oil refineries	70,490,723
Smelter properties	176,000,000
Rural properties	140,547,076
Government bonds	64,013,980
Railway debt	41,434,912
Urban property	31,500,000
Manufacturing enterprises	21,200,000
Concealed interests	18,000,000
Public utilities	16,200,000
Timber	15,000,000
Merchandising enterprises	7,300,000
Miscellaneous investments	4,500,000
Approved claims	1,896,802
Banks	1,800,000
Total	\$1,265,028,347

NOTE—American oil holdings have been estimated much higher than figures above, President Bedford of Standard Oil Company of New Jersey placing the total as high as \$500,000,000.

U. S. and Germany Linked by Cable

March 4 marked the reestablishment of the first direct cable connection between Germany and the United States since the beginning of the World War in 1914.

The World's Fastest Cable

The world's greatest cable, with a capacity of eight times that of any other cable, has been laid between England and New York without attracting much attention. The reason is that wireless has caught the imagination of the public and the cable has become commonplace. Nevertheless, cables will probably always carry the bulk of the world's business.

Rubber

British manufacturers of automobile tires are suffering from a devastating competition with American and French companies. The common shares in the Dunlop Company have shrunk in value to the extent of \$25,000,000. The British claim that the French are taking advantage of the rate of exchange to dump tires onto the British market, while they charge the Americans with an outright move to break the monopoly which Britain now practically possesses in the supply of raw rubber.

Panama Canal Earnings: 1926

In 1926 the Panama Canal, owned and operated by the government, made an operating profit of 15 million dollars. That profit, if sustained, will enable the government to pay the interest on the bonds and recover the entire capital outlay in, roughly, 20 years. It will do this though nearly 30 per cent of the cost of the canal is properly chargeable to military and naval purposes and only 70 per cent to commercial use. The total investment in the canal is \$278,000,000 exclusive of expenditure for naval and military defence. Government can be a failure in business, as certain individuals assure us. But private enterprise failed miserably at Panama.

Sweden to Exploit Estonian Oil Shale

A concession has been granted by the Estonian Government to Swedish interests for the breaking of a billion tons of oil shale, according to advices to the Department of Commerce from Stockholm.

A trial plant is already being built where distillation of shale on a manufacturing basis will be undertaken, and the intention is to build several new factories if the trial manufacture during the first year proves to be as favorable as previous experiments. To begin with, 50,000 tons of shale will be treated annually.

Swedish experts are to be in charge of the distillation and attempts will be made to extract benzine, lubricating oils and fuel oil. The capital is both Swedish and foreign, and, when the enterprise is ready, it is estimated that it will involve from 20,000,000 to 30,000,000 Swedish crowns (the value of the crown March 2 was \$267).

The Estonian shale deposits are enormously rich. Many billions of tons are waiting to be exploited and experts describe the shale as being much richer in oil than, for example, Swedish shale.

Distribution Costs

Statistics have just been issued showing that the material in every shirt worn, or in every piece of goods containing cotton or wool, has been sold at least eight times before the consumer bought the finished article. And every time it is bought and sold the price advances. According to these statisticians every bale of cotton or wool changes hands five times before it reaches the consumer's back.

London Building for the Future

London is building not merely for the present but for the future. The city recently opened the longest tube in the world, running north and south for a distance of 16½ miles. At the southern terminus is a great garage, where a minimum charge for parking makes it possible for automobilists to leave their machines in safety while they go in to transact their daily business. A double end is accomplished; keeping the automobiles out of the already congested streets, and providing additional traffic for the new subway.

Neither to Mexico nor Nicaragua

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations voted in executive session against the proposal to go or to send a subcommittee abroad during the interim between sessions of Congress to investigate the relationships between the United States and Mexico and Central American countries.

The vote came on an amendment to Senate Resolution 366 introduced by Senator Borah (Rep.), Idaho, chairman of the committee, which resolution would have authorized such a trip by the Foreign Relations Committee or any subcommittee.

The Socialist Radio Station

The Socialists of the country who are planning a broadcasting station, WDEBS, in memory of their leader, the late Eugene V. Debs, have invited, among others, to be trustees Congressman Victor Berger of Wisconsin, Morris Hillquit of New York, Upton Sinclair, Jane Addams, William Mitchell, Secretary of the United Mine Workers, Harriot Stanton Blatch and Theodore Debs, brother of the late Eugene V. Debs.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party is sponsoring the plan for the station, which may be erected either in Chicago or New York, and a public campaign has been authorized to raise \$200,000 to finance it.

23,236 Bills Introduced in 69th Congress

Harry J. Hunt, Chief Bill Clerk of the House, stated orally on March 4 that during the 69th Congress (two years) members have introduced 17,406 public and private bills, 378 House joint resolutions, 455 House resolutions, 61 House concurrent resolutions. There were received from all parts of the country 7,582 petitions of all kinds and 2,304 reports of the House committees were filed. There were 99 messages received from the President, including transmittals of matters from the Budget Bureau, and besides these 1,049 executive communications from the government departments were received. In the Senate there were upwards of 5,830 bills and 172 joint resolutions introduced.

"Each document," said Mr. Hunt, "requires a separate brief prepared for the *Congressional Record*. There were upwards of 29,000 of these briefs prepared in this office." A total of 1,422 bills was passed and became laws.

Colorado May Prohibit Insanity Defense

The House of Representatives passed a bill prohibiting the insanity defense in criminal prosecution. Under the measure, which now goes to the Senate, the defendant would have an insanity hearing, and, if declared sane, would have to use some other defense at his trial.

Pictures Are Thrown Against Night Sky

An invention which makes it possible to throw pictures against the night sky was announced from Jena, Germany, in a statement just issued by the Department of Commerce.

The inhabitants of this Saxon town have lately been entertained in the evenings with views of curious pictures flung against the dark background of the sky by a powerful searchlight.

Both pictures and images are said to have been presented with extraordinary clearness by the new method, the details of which are a closely guarded secret.

Passports and Conscientious Objectors

An American C.O. who served nine months in prison during the war was recently faced with the difficulty of taking the oath of allegiance, promising to "defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic," which is required of all passport-holders. He wrote to the State Department, declaring his pacifist position with regard to bearing arms, and received a very satisfactory reply, giving him the option of signing a statement promising to defend the constitution *so far as his conscience would allow*. This he was able to do and he received the passport.

Muscle Shoals

Alabama's claim to the ownership of water power in the Tennessee River at the Muscle Shoals "Wilson Dam" was laid before President Coolidge by a commission representing the Alabama legislature.

The claim was made in a memorial to the President, which asserted Alabama's right to ownership and control of the portion of the Tennessee River in that State, including water power, subject only to the Federal Government's authority in navigation and war activities. The State's right to ownership, the memorial stated, is upheld by decisions of the Alabama Supreme Court and of the United States Supreme Court.

Apparently Pie Is an American Dish

Nearly \$5,000,000 worth of pretzels, \$55,356,713 worth of pies, crackers, cookies, etc., to a total of more than \$242,985,000, and bread, rolls and coffee cakes worth nearly \$600,000,000 were produced in commercial bakeries in the United States in 1925, according to the data made public by the Department of Commerce from the biennial census of manufactures. The total production of the commercial bakeries showed an increase of 12.9 per cent over 1923, and was valued at \$1,267,857,169. These amounts do not include the value of bread, rolls, pastry, etc., baked by hotels, restaurants and boarding houses, but do include the value of the products of bakeries operated in connection with restaurants in all cases where it was possible to segregate the bakery business from the restaurant business, or, if such segregation was impossible, where it was obvious that the income derived from the bakery business constituted the greater part of the total income.



Building Tomorrow's World

Missions and World Peace

"**A** MERICAN opinion in China is divided into two distinct groups. A large section of missionaries and others engaged in welfare work have conducted a vast campaign of propaganda in the United States to show that the Chinese are quite right in their conduct, however outrageous it may appear at times to the untutored mind; while practically the entire American business community in China and a silent minority of the missionaries take precisely the opposite view. But since America's eleemosynary interests are far greater than her business interests the opinion of the former prevails." These words are taken from the *Peking Leader*, an American-owned newspaper in China, and represent the viewpoint of the business community. They give me new confidence in the validity of the Christian missionary enterprise as a promoter of peace.

These American missionaries in China represent a new achievement in the missionary cause. For generations foreign peoples were justified in regarding the missionary as a kind of sublimated imperialist. He may have been perfectly honest in coming to the Orient to bring his gospel to the Chinese and the Indians. But he was usually too bigoted to treat the cultures of the East with anything but an air of condescension and too much an individualist to have the slightest notion of the social implications of the faith he was preaching. He was therefore quite willing to permit the physical force, which the Christian nations had raised to an obsession, to offer him special protection. He was not particularly fearful; he simply took for granted the protection which his nation guaranteed him. Though living a life of Spartan simplicity, judged by western standards, he nevertheless took his higher standards of living, compared to those of his oriental neighbors, as a matter of course and naïvely hoped to "Americanize" his charges as much as he hoped to Christianize them. If he built a church he was not always above attempting a purely gothic structure to show the poor benighted heathen what a real church should look like. In China this type of mission work became peculiarly offensive to the natives because the death of missionaries in the Boxer

uprising was actually used to give pretext to the western nations to satisfy their greed and lust of power at the expense of China.

A MISSIONARY enterprise may be a kind of sublimated imperialism. It may be the spiritual façade of a civilization behind which its indecencies and brutalities may safely hide. The foes of Christian missions, particularly its radical foes, will have none of the Christian missionary enterprise for this reason. But that is not the whole story. In China today a large proportion of the American missionaries are actually making a missionary enterprise an instrument of international understanding. I do not say that they adopted their present policy as soon as they might. I know that the Kuomintang is on the whole anti-Christian because it believes the missionaries to be in cahoots with western imperialism. I rather suspect that the radicalism of the Cantonese may have persuaded a few otherwise conservative missionaries to adopt their present attitude. Yet nevertheless the policy of the missionaries of making common cause politically with the nation to which they have committed themselves religiously is a great achievement.

Such a policy rigorously pursued will have the general effect of dissociating Christian idealism from western imperialism. That will be one real contribution of missions to world redemption. Religious ideals always have a way of becoming compounded with the brute forces of the race and producing an amalgam which is usually more secular than spiritual but which justifies itself to the conscience of men by its ethical veneer. Thus the Protestant religion is frequently but the spiritual sublimation of the arrogance of north European peoples. The best way to destroy the unholy alliance between religion and imperialism is to view it from some higher perspective. That is what the Orient is doing for us. We are not aware of our inconsistencies until we view them through the eyes of Orientals. If religion is at its best there is a tension between it and the civilization in which it functions. That tension has been destroyed for centuries; but it is being revived.

The effort to make the East Christian is having the indirect effect of throwing the unchristian characteristics of the West into bold relief. All that is clear gain.

Of course the western world must not only be convicted of sin but it must learn to repent of its evil. Finally the missionary will not be able to save his cause by dissociating himself from western imperialism; if western imperialism is not itself changed. There is some gain in disavowing the use of gunboats in propagating a gospel of love; but a gospel of love which has its home base in a civilization which is passionately devoted to gunboats can not win the world. The relation of the western nations to China is a clear symbol of the whole moral problem which faces modern life. Either we must spiritualize the actions of groups as well as of individuals or we will lose confidence in spiritual realities; either we must moralize the attitudes of groups as well as of individuals or we will all become cynics. It does not help a Chinese to know that there are many kind, generous and ethically sensitive Englishmen. What is important to him is that when these good Englishmen act as a unit, the total effect of their actions is quite immoral. They will fasten drug addiction upon a whole nation for the sake of profit; practice deception of every kind, invite themselves in to become the overlords of unwilling subjects and leave only when they are thrown out.

WHAT applies to the English is equally true of every nation, though the offenses of England in China are particularly obvious and therefore pedagogically valuable. A religion which is based upon the assumption that the universe itself is grounded in love and that love can be made effective in all relations of life must either be held by a small minority which has separated itself from the brutalities of life which outrages its faith or it must become the dynamic of a whole civilization. If it adopts some kind of strategy of compromise between these two it will ultimately work its own undoing.

Perhaps it might be said that this is true not only of a religion which is committed to a way of love but it is true of a religion of mere decency and honesty. Either we must bring more human relations under the dominion of conscience or we will not be able to maintain morality in those relations which are now fairly moral. The actions of the larger groups are becoming more and more important. Human happiness depends increasingly upon what men do in their national, racial and even continental groups. Their private decencies will not avail to save their life from destruction if they have not learned national decency and intercontinental comity. Ruthlessness in inter-group conduct destroys faith not only among the victims of brutality but among the perpetrators. The strong man who lets nothing

restrain him from the satisfaction of his ambitions but the equal strength of a foe destroys not only the faith of the weak who suffer from his depredations but his own faith. If western civilization can not moralize the actions by which it symbolizes its spirit to the non-western world it will not only fail to propagate an ethical religion in the Orient but it will fail to maintain it for itself.

I AM glad for this reason that there are missionaries in China. The counsels of those who declare that western civilization is ethically too corrupt to have any missionaries anywhere is the counsel of despair. We are not totally corrupt. We are merely inconsistent. We have ideals, but we have not lived up to them. One of the best ways of persuading us to live up to them is to invite us to share them with other peoples. We will not only discover that our ideals are not quite as unique as we had imagined them to be but we will also grow increasingly conscious of our own treason to them. Meanwhile there will of course always be a touch of hypocrisy in the enterprise. We are not really good enough to bring moral salvation to the Orient. If we pretend to be we will be hypocrites. But that hypocrisy is on a larger scale than what you find in the heart of any man. We are never worthy of our ideals. Yet there is little gain in ceasing to avow them because we are not worthy of them. We may save ourselves from hypocrisy but we will ultimately sink into inertia. It is always better to make a desperate effort to validate the ideals we hold in our own lives.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR.

A Message to a War Resister

I want to tell you that I never worry about the immediate or future success of ideals which I know to be true, healthy and sacred. The success does not concern us. We are servants of our ideals. We have only to serve them bravely and faithfully. Whether we shall be victors or vanquished this matters little. It is a joy to serve the eternal and to sacrifice oneself for it. I do not love those at all who so ardently expect a sort of human paradise on earth, and I have no confidence in them. Those are weak people who in order to act morally feel that they must be promised an early reward, either for themselves or for their own people. The reward lies in your own self—it does not come from outside. It lies in our faith, our struggles, our courage.

—Romain Rolland.

The War Resister.

Those Damn Foreigners

WALTER BURR

Prelude

OUR American citizenship must be speedily protected from contamination by alien people. We must jealously guard our high spiritual ideals against the low and sordid traits of less developed races. Especially are we to beware of those stealthy individuals who creep in among us from benighted Russia, and undertake to rob us of the rich heritage bequeathed to us by the fathers—"and all that jolly rot."

"Damn Foreigner Number One"

THE oil fields that day had been at their greasiest. The gaunt ungainly derricks with their creaking pumps had seemed to snarl sarcastically at me during the hours I had spent winding my way among them, as though they knew some secret that would be the undoing of the money-mad men who had built them. I wondered if that secret was communicated to them from the bottoms of the myriad wells, and had to do with the fact that the percentage of water to oil was continually increasing and the day rudely approaching when there would be nothing brought up but foul stinking water. Well might the creaking snarl take on the form of ghoully laughter at the sight of broken fortunes, destroyed American homes, blasted life plans—when the field should play out.

The bus was leaving for the larger city some twenty-five miles away, and I hurried through the gathering darkness to where its engine was vibrating and throbbing, eager to be off. Having purchased my ticket, I stepped into the restless vehicle. Thank my good fortune, I was alone.

Then arrived the Damn Foreigner. He was very dirty. His skin was unmistakably swarthy, and he looked particularly revolting to me as he seated himself just behind me, and the bus rolled out into the darkness of the rough highway.

"Well," I mused, "there may be something in what they say about these undesirables taking the country. Here I am, an American citizen, with my life possibly endangered as I ride along my American highway,—with perhaps a nihilist, a revolutionist, an anarchist, or a bolshevist, seated just behind me."

Chug! Bang! The lurching bus had gone directly into a deep chuck hole, something had smashed, and we came to a sudden stop.

"We're dead!" called out the driver. "Nothing to do now but wait for a car to come along and take us back."

The car came along. We were rolled back to the starting place. Another car was commissioned, and found myself in the rear seat, pressed closely to the Undesirable, starting again out into the night. My companion of the great unwashed seemed not inclined to break the silence, so I tried.

"Do you live around here somewhere?" I asked.

"Over in the city," he replied.

I next volunteered, "What is your name?"

The only information I can give now as to his reply is that my direct suspicions were confirmed. It ended with a "vichy."

We were getting on. He asked my name, which of course is thoroughly respectable because it has no "vichy" on it. Then he wanted to know where I lived and what I might be working at for a living. I tried, in as simple English as I could command, to make the Undesirable understand what it meant to be a teacher in an Agricultural College. The following conversation ensued:

"Now, maybe you from a college of agriculture could tell me how a person could learn most about raising pigs and chickens. Do they teach that?"

I assured him we had an animal husbandry department and a poultry department. "I presume," I added, "you have a boy whom you wish to send to college."

"No," he replied, "I want to know those things myself."

"Then you farm, do you?"—as I saw I must change my first estimate.

"No!"—and then disdainfully: "I sell goods for a house in the city that deals in oil well equipment."

"Do you like the job?"

"No! I hate it!"

"Then what would you like to do?" I asked, in some amazement. The question brought out this story:

"I was born and raised in Russia. My father, he was one poor peasant. We children—we were fifteen. The Czar, he once give the peasants land. They have big families—lot of children. So when my father's father gave every child his part, that made just two acres for my father's share. We—my father and my mother and us fifteen children, we live on that two acres. We keep a cow. Many a time we go out and beg saw-dust, and get a little straw, and mix a little meal with it, and grind it up, and soak it in water, and mix a kind of big flat cake, and cook it, and feed it to the cow for us to get some milk. Always we are hungry. My father, many a time he have to go 'way and work in a factory for nothing, for the lord. Me, I many times went and worked on the big farm of the

priest. Every young feller had to do it. The church said it was working for God. I would help to get in his bins of wheat, and knew I did not dare take even a few grains of it to eat. And, mister, I was hungry. And my mother, and the other children—they was all hungry at home, too. So when I get young man, I come away and get to America.

"Well, how do you like it here?"

"It is good—very good. But why do everybody try to beat everybody else here? Mister,—do you think it will come—the time when we all treat one another like brothers?"

This sounded somewhat like the talk of a religious fanatic, so I asked:

"What religion do you hold?"

"Me?" he snarled, "I got no religion. Religion, too—she try to do up everybody. Religion—she make me work for the priest and give me nothing to eat—when I am hungry. Did you hear how in the revolution of 1905 we carried banners, 'No Czar: no church: no God'? Well, the church and the priest put God on the side of the Czar. How could a boy like me have any religion?"

"But," he continued, "I used to dream in the daytime, when we worked so hard and got nothing—and us children, we talk about it—and the old folks tell us about it—that sometime a day would come when all would treat everybody else like brothers."

He paused, as though enjoying the dream again. Then he came back to the stern reality with this:

"Sometimes I think it will all bust first."

"Well," I asked, thinking perhaps he felt himself elected to help "it all bust"—a real revolutionist at heart—"what are you going to do about it?"

His voice became soft and sweet:

"I got a good little woman at home, and we got a little boy and a little girl. The girl, she is in the eighth grade, and the boy, he is in the sixth grade. Oh, that's something I worship America for—she give my children education. I tell them, 'You children get this from America. What must you do? You must study hard, and get perfect grades. You must be honest and work hard. Then you must find some way to pay back America, with your lives, for what she do for you, giving you school.'"

"And for yourself and the little woman, when they are out in the world paying America back for their schooling?"

"Listen, mister. That's why I ask about how to learn to take care of pigs and chickens. I save money and buy last year, out a little ways from the city, a farm—eighteen acres. When the boy and girl got American education and begin to pay back for it with their lives—their *American* lives—then the little woman and me, we go out to that eighteen acres. We raise pigs and chickens. We live quiet, and, mister, we

treat all the neighbors like they was brothers. Mister, in just a little place, we live out what we believe—that the world is a home, that we all got one great Father, that we all children together—brothers and sisters in a family. Maybe I can't figure how we do it in a whole world—but we do it there on that eighteen acres, with our pigs and chickens and all the good neighbors."

We had swung into the city streets. Big signs on every side told of our American chase after the dollar. Banks and oil offices and stock exchanges stood blatantly out in the night time as though eager to get back into the mad race each to get ahead of the other, as soon as the day should begin. Even the church buildings were like soldiers temporarily at ease, waiting for the bugle call of dawn to begin the controversy again.

In my hotel room I was kept awake by the constant ringing in my ears of the words that told the great ambition of that Damn Foreigner—the atheist—the Revolutionist:

"Mister, we treat all the neighbors like they was brothers. Mister, in just a little place we live out what we believe—that the world is a home—that we all got one great Father—that we all children together—brothers and sisters in a family."

Damn Foreigner Number Two

IT happened on the Rock Island, speeding across western Kansas. In the chair car folks were sitting two by two, enjoying either old friends or new acquaintances. A man was sitting across the aisle, alone, but he did not seem to be lonely. He was reading a massive volume.

He made a ludicrous and incongruous picture. A little, slender, pock-faced, dark skinned creature, with erratic looking features. He seemed dirty, too. And ignorant. Yes, doubtless another one of these foreigners who are overrunning the country, and threatening our pure nordicism.

What right had such a decrepit and mediocre looking specimen to be reading a book, anyway? Ah! Page Sherlock Holmes! No doubt it was a book on Anarchy. Perhaps this was an agent for some inferior foreign government, on a secret mission to undermine our glorious free institutions. Possibly I could find out.

Uninvited, I left my chair and slipped into the one by his side. It was getting a little dark for reading, and he laid the book on his knee. Just as well go directly to the point, so I shot him a question:

"What are you reading?"

He caressed the book fondly as it lay upon his knee, and replied,

"American History."

Entirely too crude and clumsy an excuse, so I reached for the book, opened it, and—Bah! It was

printed in Yiddish. Here was a Russian Shylock of a Jew travelling across our country. Heaven save us!

A turn of the page, and there looked out from the book the great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln. My new found companion was overcome with joy at sight of the picture. He had a way of breathing out loud when excited, and almost spraying one from between his teeth. He began it now:

"I love him! He is the greatest man ever live! He believes all people should be free. Oh, how I would like it if I had known him!"

Page after page was turned, with pictures of Grant, and Garfield, and Douglas—yes, it was an American History. He said that when he had first come to this country, he had found this work in Yiddish in several volumes. He had purchased it with his first money saved. Then, after he had gone on to Denver, which was his destination, he came to a place in his reading where one volume was missing. He had not been able to find that volume. But he had just been on a trip to New York City, and while there, going from book shop to book shop, and searching the entire East Side, he had found the missing book. Now he was taking it home to Denver with him, a great prize. He said he had friends and relatives there who would be just as happy as he that he had secured the record of that period in American history. Of course, he had heard a great deal about it, but that was not like reading it in his own tongue.

A query about his family brought out the story of his great grief. He had a son, whom he had put through college. The young man was to have been a physician and was started into medical college. His health broke down, and the verdict was that he would have to discontinue his studies for a few years. He had gone into a furniture factory with his uncle, and was making good there. The father was overcome with remorse because the boy could not go on and become a great physician.

"But," I argued, "he may do well in the furniture business. Perhaps the reason he became a nervous wreck in the medical school was just because he does not like that sort of work. Then, surely he will make more money in the furniture business."

"Sure," he replied, deprecatingly, "But that's not it. I know he makes more money. Here"—abruptly he turned toward me, and in his excited way, wheezing his breath in and out noisily through his teeth, he went on: "I tell you all about it. In Russia we was treated bad. We was poor. We was hungry. People hated us for our religion, because we was Jews. So me—I took my woman and my little boy, about four years old—and we come to America. Some people on the boat say we won't be treated good in America neither. We worry about it. Finally, we come in. We come to Galveston. When we come in, the little boy,

he gets in front of the line, away from mamma and me. We gets scared for the little boy—maybe he won't get treated good. He comes to the big American doctor. The big American doctor, he looks in both his eyes, with a little stick——"

"Yes," I interrupted, "he was looking for trachoma, an eye disease."

"Sure," he laughed, "I know now; but I didn't know it then, and I thought he might hurt my little boy. There he was, just a little boy, in his little jacket. He was a sweet little boy. The big American doctor took hold of him, and he lift him up, and he say, 'he a nice little boy'—and mister, listen; the big American doctor, he *kiss my little boy!* I says to mamma—'the big American doctor—he knows he is nothing only a little Jewish boy—but he *kiss* him, and say he is a nice little boy.'"

"Mister, I fall right down on my stomach, and kiss the ground of America; and mamma, she say, 'Our little boy, he be a big American doctor some day, to pay America for being good to us.'"

He paused, and wiped away a tear with his dirty hand. "And so, mister, you see it almost killed me, when after nearly twenty years of our planning and working, my boy cannot be a doctor. Well, I say to mamma, 'We got to make up some way ourselves for what America done for us. So now we take a little neighbor boy. He is not Jewish. His folks is poor. We send him to school, and maybe make him a big American doctor, to pay America for what she done for us. Maybe it is better so he is not Jewish. Maybe we come sometime to all treat each other right, and maybe that will be our religion; we all help one another, and we make America more great.'"

Rise, brothers! Let us save the United States for the Nordic race, trade only with those who speak English, and squeeze the eagle on the dollar until it screams again:

"In God we trust."

Blah!



City Sketches

CHARLOTTE E. WILDER

I. WEATHER

A GIANT sprawls across the sky, regarding us. He has only eyes; he sees only the appearance of things. To him, stone and hands of flesh are alike. Though he has noticed that, for the moment, the latter have animation, he does not know that nerves trick under the skin. He sees the swarm of monstrous buildings, rooted in Manhattan rock; the patch of soil in the centre, tended and swept; the half-frozen river throwing its arm around the city. He sees men in pantomime, clambering through and over these things, making and grooming them. He says: "They value them."

He releases sunlight, and then heavy rains, that the park may melt at the core and flush with color. Knowing that earth revives perennially, he dares to send his hail, to scour the stone towers, and his snow, to warm and soften every edge. Seeing the city grow, high and clean from his tending, he re-doubles his storms, saying, "They thank me, there."

But this continually puzzles him: that as she drags a cart through the sleet, one bit of porcelain groans; that another nurses blue, swollen hands, marked by scars where they have lately touched some coals. That a third turns her face up to him and dies.

II. FOREVER

AT the foot of a skyscraper, a woman sits roasting chestnuts. A white, pinched face and pointed hands peep out from what seems to be a bundle of dark, webby shawls. One can readily believe that she pulls customers to her with the fling and thrust of her eye—so sudden and angry is her glance—and yet, in truth, she is gentleness itself. In her heart she has a great fear of, and respect for, the Lord.

Whether because she is unlettered and will not be corrected, or because her mind is oddly troubled with dreams which, like a film before the eye, cannot be shaken off, she has come to believe that God planted the tall buildings and nurtures them. After a good rain, she has often noticed that some of them have sprouted a full story or two. The knowledge formerly distressed her, for to them she ascribed her woes: her gains so meagre and her inconsiderable advancement.

She began to haunt the churches that she might discover what were His intentions toward her and towards those towers. Soon it became clear to her that

they were to be overthrown, but that she was to live always. Now she shudders in premonitory triumph when she hears: How are the mighty fallen! and smiles at the promise: I shall make thine enemy thy footstool, confident in the assurance that He can accomplish it. It pleases her to sit—for the brief instant that they endure—at the foot of these shafts that blot out sun and sky—the least shall be greatest—turning the savory, brown balls on the embers, under *their* jealous regard.

But they have lately sought to trouble her. Night after night they have belched icy winds from the multitude of their mouths; have sifted down on her the fine, white powder of their stone. This very evening, the coals in her brazier blow black before they have been red a moment. The passers go by at a run. She feels old and tired, but she sees no evidence of weariness in them.

Her head falls forward on her breast. No one notices—she so often nods over the chestnuts. If only her brain were not too frozen to throw off the doubting dream. She sees the black edge of the building's shadow cut through her; she sees herself removed and tossed away, and the sun tomorrow climbing the tower's great unbent shoulder to light the place that she no longer fills.

She rouses herself to put on a handful of fresh chestnuts. She chides herself. He who ordains that towers shall be uprooted will, according to His promise, enable her to outlast them. Until the delicious odor of the roasting nuts comes to her, she will sleep, trusting in His power.



Cover from David Thorne's poem, "Under the New City"

Overalls for Plus-Fours

W. WALTER LUDWIG

AT a recent conference, 900 college students became tense with interest as a vote was taken on the question of participation in a future war. When 181 delegates rose to avow the pacifist position, there was such a hush as in the old days attended the declaration of volunteers for the foreign field. Here was a new variety of life-commitment. The next day the bubble burst. Called upon then to vote on a motion that students not act as strikebreakers, the student pacifists were silent and the motion was lost with almost no defense. Obviously there was no issue here upon which to take "a stand." Khaki and the trenches are one thing. Overalls and the motor-man's box or mine-pit, another.

Such a compartmental attitude is not difficult to explain. Like British "plus-fours" in the general strike, American students in some cases have had an economic, if not a gaming interest in strikes. In considering force their attention has been focused pretty much upon military establishments and the struggle between states. The significance of violence has not transferred to the battlefields of the industrial struggle. The student shares the general confusion of thought about matters of fundamental economic interest. Detached from the life of the worker, except when necessity obliges him to dive therein and emerge with salvage enough for his education, the American college student is detached in his ideology. Supply meeting demand is his controlling economic theory and success equalling ability plus effort, his controlling philosophic equation. Naturally the student flounders when a flesh and blood life situation involving instincts and human drives crashes his ready-made theories.

Actual blister-producing experience is the most convincing corrective. That a summer's industrial experience shall be productive of something more than blisters and a bank balance has resulted in numerous industrial research projects. The student Christian Associations have had groups in Denver, Chicago, and Detroit. A small group of theological students toiled in Boston last summer under the direction of the Church League for Industrial Democracy.

STUDENT "free lances" in industry were brought together last September in the first conference of its kind held at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. All but three of the twenty-five student delegates had seen service as workers. Their stripes covered periods of from one to six summers, and of consecutive employment as much as two years. Two of the group had become members of trade unions. Almost all

were members of churches. Eighteen of the group were women. Ten states were represented and fifteen colleges and universities. The latter, from right to left, included Harvard, a group of substantial state universities, to Antioch, Brookwood, and Commonwealth.

At the first evening's session when facts about the jobs were reported, incongruities of various sorts appeared. One young woman had been wrapping and packing all-day suckers in a Chicago candy factory. It was a bit disconcerting to learn that working forty-nine hours per week, her average earnings were \$7, about the weekly average for the other girls in the factory. A well-groomed student, just the sort to clerk in a bank or grace the beach of a summer resort, had spent the summer screwing nuts on Cadillac cars. A studious looking youth, who by all the tests should have been doing "brain work" in the research alcoves of a university library, had on various summer jobs dug sewers, skinned mules, served as a printer's apprentice, compositor, and press feeder, and most recently stacked cement on a dam construction job. Heater in a riveting gang, ship-fitter's helper in a Philadelphia shipyard, laborer in a scale gang at a Carnegie steel works, paper box-maker, bench worker in a pump factory, gatherer in a bindery, labeller of canned soup, operator of sanding machine in a toy factory—at such jobs had the students worked. Some had walked the streets and lined up in front of employment windows for their jobs. Others had utilized contacts (less euphemistically, "pull") in getting their jobs. They represented a fascinating aggregation of dissimilar experiences, unified by a concern about the manner in which youth meshes gear with economic reality.

Getting paid off; working overtime for time and a half; beating one's record on a piece rate job; acquiring knowledge of machinery, methods, and problems of work; utilizing some skill or aptitude; anticipating advancement—these were satisfiers on the job. But realizing how short the wage was for one's living needs and how long one had to work to earn it; straining to keep pace with a machine or the efficiency expert's rate, resulting in irritability and nagging; the bawlings of the boss; "spreading" the job; competing with one's fellow workers—these were annoyers. One of the industrial workers in a seasonal occupation added to the list a mental state which college students do not really know—"the fear of unemployment."

Temporary interests were numerous. Changes in the type of job or in the "batches of work" were interesting. Working on a high-class car gave the student who had screwed nuts on the Cadillac a satisfaction

which passed when he realized that he could not save enough on the job to buy the car he worked on! Advancement brought satisfaction to one student who rejoiced in the "freedom and privileges" which came when he was promoted to head the machine department. "I had the say of the department, things were done as I thought best, and I could talk back to the foreman and superintendent without fear of losing my job." Thus may industry inspire its petty officers with the psychology of the shave-tail!

COLLEGE students and industrial workers have this in common—their real interests are not intrinsic with but extrinsic to the job. The fun is at the side shows. The main show is a bore. With or without its "extra curricular activities" in the form of welfare features, industry failed to interest these college students in their jobs. They irked under monotony, watched the clock, waited for the whistle when they might be free to live again. An unmistakable impression gained from the recital of the students' industrial experience is that it was that particular variety of hell in which Virgil pictured Sisyphus, damned to shoulder a heavy boulder up a long hill only to have it slip near the top and roll to the foot again. Infernal routine! Said one student who had worked in a Detroit auto body manufacturing company affectionately known among the employees as "the slaughter house," "I have no objection at all to three or four hours' monotonous work a day. In fact, it really helps me do better mental work the remaining time. But eight hours is too much."

Whether education makes monotonous work easier or harder was an issue on which the students divided about evenly. Most of them agreed that education gave them "something to think about," and made them more intelligently interested in their fellow workers. Perhaps the service of education is that it "makes one more discontented with injustice." Or "when conditions wear on you, education helps you think through the problem of what is responsible for the existence of such conditions and helps you direct your resentment toward them rather than simply have it disrupt generally your moral and emotional life and make you grow careless or anti-social."

COLLEGE students with industrial experience have a lively interest in the democratization of industrial control. Not that they have had much experience with democracy in their education. They haven't helped build curricula or elect instructors. Four of the twenty-five found some plan of employee representation in vogue in their shops. They worked and got paid. They study and get marks. Participation in their jobs was about as extensive as participation in their education. Even welfare features were few. In five plants there were life insurance schemes; in three,

sickness benefits; old foremen and the office force got vacations with pay in three shops; in two, old age pensions were provided; and at one place, the Salvation Army came around occasionally at noon! "They cost extra," said one student of these concessions. "The men felt they paid for all they got."

As to the form which creative employee participation in the control of industry should take, the students tended to be pluralists. They were too benighted or too wary to commit themselves to any one true way of industrial salvation. They were impressed by the description of the collective bargaining and arbitration methods of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Rochester. They listened attentively while Mr. Hapgood described the honest-to-goodness plan for employee control and eventual employee ownership of the Columbia Conserve Company. A dozen of the delegates even visited the plant after the conference and sat in on a meeting of the Workers' Council. When one of the college workers in the plant referred to her forewoman as "satisfactory," everyone laughed.

What plan of workers' participation will have the least of regimentation and coercion; the most of free expression, criticism, and capacity for change? The students at Earlham wisely refrained from expressing their ignorance on this question. They did, however, want it understood that they opposed students acting as strikebreakers and went on record to that effect. And one of the group was selected to speak at the A. F. of L. convention at Detroit, William Green willing. Mr. Green was willing and the student endeavored in ten minutes to acquaint the convention with the efforts of small groups of students to learn some of labor's problems.

IT is easy to exaggerate the significance of the student-in-industry movement. For most students, the worker's job is simply a legitimate field of plunder for college expenses or the necessary discipline for the heaven of a managerial job. For the more adventure-some, it may be a sort of sowing wild oats experience, like the popular collegiate summer's avocation of "thumbing" one's way around the country. The restless one will soon settle down and satisfy the expectations of his middle class associates. Few Powers Hapgoods will result.

"It made my social ideas concrete" is the assessment one student places upon his experience as a worker. A small yet increasing number of students are placing a similar value upon their industrial experiences. Youthful idealists who at student conferences stack "the way of love and service" against force and profits might find their hopes deflated of unreality and shot through with meaning. Certainly there are a lot of social *inclinations* running around loose in the college world which might be given social *content* were students to rub against the realities of industrial experience.

Whence Came War?

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

PROFESSOR JOHN DEWEY first set forth the theory that war is a development of the hunting pattern;¹ and it is popularly supposed that war is quite as primitive as hunting, or in the language of Hobbes, that the primitive state was a state of the war of all against all. This idea seems in part to be endorsed by Dr. Clark Wissler when he makes war one of the fundamental parts of the skeleton of culture.² But the evidence does not permit us to believe that war was primitive in the human species. The common assumption that man is naturally a fighting animal, and that therefore he is naturally a warlike animal, is not sustained by the evidence, or rather is sustained only in part.

An English anthropologist has well said,³

"It is too commonly assumed that violent behavior is 'natural' to men, in that they will infallibly exhibit it, to a greater or less degree, in their ordinary daily intercourse, unless restraining influences are at work. The notion of a community where any sort of violence was practically unknown would sound absurd to most of us. We are apt to think that 'civilization' has tamed the 'savage', that it has imposed restraints on his violent tendencies, without inquiring as to whether this really is the case. I am convinced that this is one of the most profound mistakes that can be made, and that, until this error is eliminated from current thought, there is little hope for any solution of the greatest problem that confronts us as civilized men and women, namely, the elimination of violence from the relations between states, and, indeed, from all human relationships."

The same writer says of the primitive food-gatherers, "These people, one and all, live peaceful lives when left undisturbed. It would seem that peaceful behavior is really typical of mankind when living simple lives such as those of the food-gatherers."

We cannot, however, agree with this writer when he implies that violence is not natural to man and that mankind had to be educated into cruelty. The evidence from the animal world is overwhelmingly in favor of the supposition that man has natural tendencies which lead him easily into fighting and cruelty; and this is shown by the relations of man and the lower animals in the hunting stage of existence. Man's fighting tendencies were, however, developed by nature in man's struggle with the animals below him, and were naturally directed toward species other than his own. We find no evidence which leads us to believe that in primitive times there was fighting between human communities as such.

The foundation in human nature for the development of war was laid in the fighting impulse developed by man's struggle with the brute world, and to

some extent by his struggle with his fellows for the possession of food and mates. We find a similar natural impulse in all the higher animals, but this impulse in the higher animals does not lead to war among them. At most, it gives rise merely to individual combat. Even among boys the same impulse manifests itself in individual combats, but not in anything approaching war. There must be something more, therefore, than the natural fighting impulse at work to produce war.

WHAT was the crisis which turned the hunting pattern through which man obtained his food supply against other human groups? Obviously, it was connected with food. War may be regarded as an outcome of the food process under certain conditions. But what were the conditions? No simple answer can be given. Scarcity of food might lead to organized conflict between human groups more or less even before the cultivation of the soil was begun. This is indicated by the fact that there is more or less warfare among existing savage peoples in the middle and upper stages of savagery. Perry's statement that primitive peoples do not fight as communities is true only of those in the lowest stage of culture. The Australian aborigines had occasional fights between their groups though these were rarely of a serious character. In upper savagery, however, we find some peoples, like the Caribs of South America, fairly warlike. In such cases the motive for fighting seems to be the possession of hunting grounds, in other words the possession of a certain source of food supply.

As Professor Tozzer points out,⁴ the fighting customs of savage and even of barbarous peoples have been much exaggerated. The fighting of the American Indian tribes, for example, was rarely on a large scale, though to this statement there were several exceptions. Nearly all the North American Indians practiced hoe agriculture. There was a difference, however, in this respect among the different tribes. Some were more settled and agricultural than others. These more settled agricultural tribes were often raided by the more nomadic tribes for the sake of garden plunder or perhaps women and children. Due to the fact that agriculture was not extensive, the question of territory did not enter in except as hunting territory. The warfare was, therefore, in the nature of predatory raids, or what would now be termed guerilla warfare. Thus the Navajos and Apaches, Athapascan tribes which had come down from the North, raided

¹ "Interpretation of Savage Mind," *Psychological Review*, vol. ix, pp. 217-30; also in Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins*, pp. 173-86.

² *Man and Culture*, Chap. V.

³ Perry, *The Growth of Civilization*, p. 191.

⁴ *Social Origins and Social Continuities*, pp. 88, 236.

the peaceful Pueblo Indians, driving them to take refuge in cliff dwellings.

The best examples of organized war in the New World are, however, to be found in connection with the relatively civilized peoples of Central and South America. Here again the same kind of facts come into view. The earliest civilized people in Mexico and Central America, so far as we know, were the Mayas. Apparently the Mayas were always a relatively peaceful agricultural people. Wilder tribes from the North began to make incursions upon them. The chief of these were the warlike Aztecs, who apparently began to move southward from Arizona and northern Mexico perhaps as early as 600 A. D. They overran the territory, took hostages, made the hostages cultivate the soil or fight for them, and in some cases offered them to their gods and ate them, though cannibalism seems to have been practiced by the Aztecs mainly as a religious ceremony. Gradually the Aztecs thus conquered and took possession of practically all of what is now Mexico, but they were never more than a minority among all the peoples of Mexico. The Aztec conquest of Mexico was in effect but a grand hunting expedition which lasted for several centuries. The later Spanish conquest was of course no different in character.

THESE examples and others which could be cited show clearly the truth of what Tozzer says:

"The implications of organized warfare are an advanced technology and a development of effective weapons. The motives behind organized warfare are advanced notions of property, both real and personal. A relatively high social organization and a group spirit making possible military cooperation are usually present, together with an advanced economic status. This is correlated with a relative freedom of the warrior class from the necessity of seeking food and with the subjugation of a servile laboring class whose main duty is the cultivation of the fields." Tozzer concludes that "warfare is seldom endemic among primitive peoples."

The general facts of the development of warfare in the Old World confirm these views and throw further light upon the matter. The first Neolithic inhabitants of Europe were agriculturalists, with very few domestic animals. They apparently came into Europe from the southeast and settled along the shores of the Atlantic, the northern shores of the Mediterranean, and in the river valleys. But about 4000 B. C., possibly earlier, the relatively peaceful, settled agricultural communities of Western Europe began to be raided by nomadic peoples from the Eurasian steppes, coming on horseback. They plundered the Neolithic peoples of Europe, conquered, and enslaved them. Many scholars now believe that these nomadic intruders from Asia were the primitive Aryans,⁵ and that it was in this way that Aryan languages and Aryan customs became imposed upon nearly all the European peoples. The

war pattern in this case differed considerably from that of the New World. The Old World pattern included horses and cattle. The horses enabled the invaders to move quickly, while the cattle supplied food wherever they went. There was no cannibalism, for there was an abundance of food, due to the presence of these domesticated animals. Many of the warlike invasions by the nomadic peoples were essentially in the nature of cattle raids.

IN general, we can say that war did not become organized on a large scale in the Old World until the advent of domesticated horses and cattle in the third and fourth millenniums before Christ, though as we have seen it attained considerable development in the New World without such domesticated animals. In the Old World the domestication of the horse revolutionized warfare, just as modern science has revolutionized it within recent years. The horse immensely extended the scale of war and made it necessary for the peaceful peoples to become organized against attack. The agriculturalists of the Nile and Tigris-Euphrates valleys were forced to adopt military organization to resist the raids of the warlike nomadic peoples from the north. Europe, especially, became an object of these warlike raids by various peoples from the Eurasian steppes, for Europe was mostly settled and agricultural, while the nomadic peoples of the steppes were pastoral.

We now see the immense part which the development of agriculture and the domestication of animals played in the development of war. Aggressive war in prehistoric times was simply a turning of the hunting pattern toward human communities; and it is hardly necessary to add that there would and could have been no defensive warfare without aggressive warfare.

Cannibalism, like war, was not primitive but seems largely to have developed as an accompaniment of war; for cannibalism was also a turning of the hunting pattern toward human beings. Cannibalistic raids were simply the hunting of human beings, and were usually undertaken by peoples in the tropics who lacked a meat supply. War was undertaken for the sake of plunder, usually in the form of food, though to some extent also in the form of women and children. Both cannibalism and war have had largely the same motive, and both are perversions of the hunting pattern. Cannibalism simply represents the extreme of the hunting pattern turned toward human beings; war represents a more moderate development with the object of plunder, first in the form of food, women, and children, and later in the form of territory of political power. *The essential significance of war in the human cultural process, then, lies in the fact that one human group is attempting to live at the expense of another human group; and of course cannibalism has exactly the same significance.*

⁵ See Veblen, *The Blonde Race and the Aryan Culture*.

We see this clearly regarding cannibalism and have universally united in its condemnation; but peoples have been slower to see this regarding war because certain good results have incidentally accompanied warfare. It is notorious that warfare within the historic era has disciplined men, taught them the need of social organization, and created unity over large areas of territory. In fact, war gave rise to the state and government as we find them among the historical peoples. The whole evolution of these historical peoples has been connected with warfare, and it is almost impossible to conceive of their development apart from the disciplining and selective power of war.

PERHAPS a fairer comparison would be between war and slavery. Slavery, we know, was one of the outcomes of war. Like war, it disciplined men, favored the division of labor and the development of social organization. Like war, slavery had both its good and bad sides; but on the whole, we have come to the conclusion that slavery was only a transitional institution in the development of culture, and that it has no place in the higher cultures of the present or of the future.

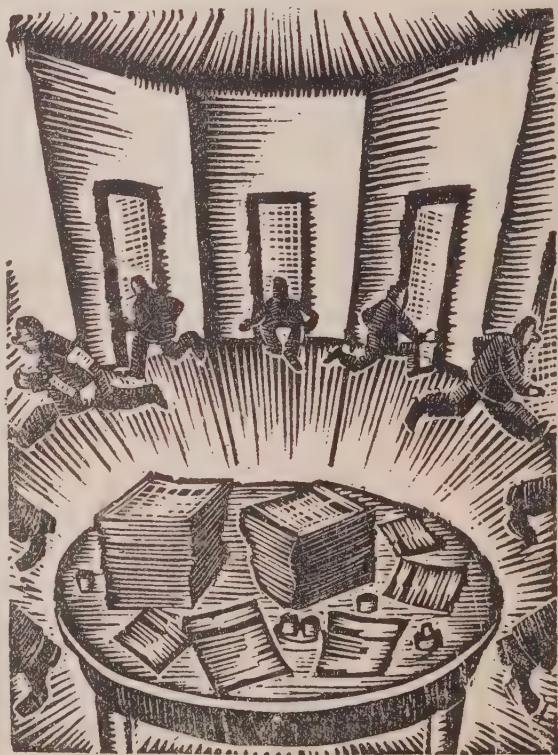
It would seem that we must come to the same conclusion regarding war. War would seem to be a transitional social and cultural phenomenon, largely connected with food supply, the development of agriculture, and the competition for natural resources. When human groups have solved their problems of food and other needed raw materials and have become socially adjusted to one another, there would seem to be no place for war in culture any more than there is for slavery. Humanity began its development with peaceful relations among human communities. We have every reason to believe that the trend of cultural evolution is toward the reestablishment of peaceful relations among human communities upon a higher plane. War is a transitional phenomenon chiefly developed in barbarism and semi-civilization. It cannot continue to exist under general conditions of social enlightenment. Human society began in peace, and it will end in peace.

WAR originated because all culture proceeds by the process of trial and error. It is a long time before man discovers his wrong social adjustments if he profits by them either as a group or as an individual. Even after he learns that he is in error, owing to various interests, feelings, and beliefs he clings to his error, frequently for a great length of time. Consequently, cultural errors are eliminated and dropped very slowly and with great difficulty.

For this reason the student of human culture cannot be greatly surprised that modern civilized peoples have not yet succeeded in getting rid of war. Obviously

the spread of peace sentiment alone cannot stop war, though it may be one indispensable condition for its elimination. The vested interests which are behind war will have to be gotten rid of. We will have to change, also, the ideas and habits of the mass of the people. Again, the forms of law and government among even the most advanced nations are adjusted to war rather than to peace. The war pattern which has come down to us from Rome has been closely associated with the development of governmental and legal forms. We have difficulty, therefore, in outlawing war even legally. We have not yet developed either an international law or an international organization which is efficient for peace.

Finally, it must be remembered that human psychology, as well as cultural traditions and social organization, presents certain obstacles to peace. Even enlightened human beings do not remain rational all the time. There is an irrational element in human nature as well as in human culture, and we must learn how to control unreason in one as well as in the other. The ultimate problem of human society is, after all, in the character of the social personality of individuals. The control of the development of personality is beyond the scope of this article, but we have no reason to believe that this problem presents an insuperable difficulty to the attainment by man of a true culture in which he will find himself adjusted to the requirements of his existence as a social and cultural being.



CONGRESS ADJOURNS

Woodcut by Hans Gerner

Books About the Public Mind

Crimson, Red, or Pink ?

MR. WILL IRWIN in *How Red is America?*¹ set out to give a "cold-blooded recital of facts" regarding the extent of radicalism in the United States, steering clear of the fears of alarmed conservatives who see a Red in every social bush, and so of the claims of the radicals who thrive by playing on the prospect of an imminent revolution. He has succeeded. He has avoided not only the sensationalism of those stand-pat groups who have tried to intimidate the ordinary citizen with the bogey of Bolshevism but also that which might easily spring from denunciation of their exaggerations. For a liberal-minded man like Will Irwin, the latter task was probably the more difficult. Persons with strong liberal tendencies will perhaps feel that Mr. Irwin has been a little too coldly calm in his treatment. But that is a credit to his ability as a good reporter to stick to facts. In the long run his impartial and external method will probably be the effective one in convincing the public that the red menace was never serious, and for several years has been dwindling, until now it is not even a ghost but only the shadow of a ghost. He defines a red radical as a person who believes in abolishing property rights as we know the term, and replacing them by some form of collective ownership. Since this definition includes even those who rely, for a long time to come at least, upon orderly political methods of change, the definition covers those who are only a mild pink.

The substance of the book is an account of the history and fortunes of various radical groups. The detailed account is prefaced by a general statement of the origin of socialism with Marx and Engels; of anarchism with Bakunin; of the split of the Russians in the formation of Bolshevik communism and of the development of syndicalism in France. Serious students of economic sociology will not find any new material in the chapter. But considering the profound ignorance which prevails among citizens as to the most elementary distinctions, it is to be hoped this chapter will have the widest reading. (I recall an excited intelligence officer, a college graduate, who during the war saw the communist manifesto of 1848 for the first time, and in consequence could hardly keep nights.) The average citizen will find a short and clear statement of the essential distinctions between the various groups of radicals and their policies. The Knights of Labor, it seems to me, might have been mentioned as an indication of the strictly indigenous origin of a movement analogous to syndicalism, and a pre-runner of the I. W. W.

The story of the latter is recounted under the caption The Revolt of the Blanket Stiffs, telling the tale of the rise of migratory labor for seasonal occupations in the West, and the development of the wobbles after the Chicago convention of 1908, and of the decline, which Irwin attributes to the second-hand Ford, along with the anti-syndicalist legislation of the war era. The "Lively Communists," the overflow of the Russian revolution, then receive attention, while the rise and decline of the orthodox and moderate socialist party is discussed in a chapter on The Discouraged Socialists. The deeper causes of the blight which has come upon the radical movements, Irwin finds in the rise of wages, the restriction of immigration, the diffusion of stock owner-

ship, cheapening of costs of production by attention to the machine, rather than taking it out on employees, etc.

Mr. Irwin has not only accomplished his immediate purpose, but has given a valuable popular account of one phase of our social history. It is a useful handy book of reference on the topics it covers. It is to be hoped that it is a fore-runner of that complete history of American social movements which is still to be written, for the succession of such movements is at once one of the most characteristic traits of American life and one of the most neglected. There is one aspect of the general subject which Mr. Irwin does not touch upon. Probably the material is inaccessible; certainly much of it is kept secret. But the anti-red propaganda is an interesting chapter. It is matter of common gossip that for some years the easiest way to shake down certain wealthy interests was to go to them with a scheme to counteract the red menace. If some of these credulous gentlemen part with enough money to buy this book, some enterprising promoting agents will probably find themselves out of a job.

JOHN DEWEY.

Public Opinion

BLESSED are the peacemakers may be true somewhere, but it is not in the world of nations. *Vox populi* may be right at times, but generally it is the voice of Satan. George F. Babbitt is our ruler in America, but he rules only in his spare time, and he has little time to spare from his real estate and Kiwanis club. Newspapers are kerosene to the fires of popular hate. Wars are frequently made by them, and are generally encouraged and protracted by them. Ministers of the gospel don't believe in the Sermon on the Mount, except in the piping times of peace, and it is not certain that a majority of them so believe then. Education is no cure for the war evil. Professors are as reliable as ministers when there is need of brains or eloquence to urge on misunderstanding. These are a few things that are made self-evident in the new book by Norman Angell, *The Public Mind*.² It is a devastating book. It is a discouraging book. But it is a very useful book and one which, if I were king, I would order every one of my subjects to read. And those who could not read, I would order it read to them. It is well for all of us to know a little about ourselves, even when the facts are not very pleasant. If we have grown into a loathsome, cruel thing, without beauty and without love, we had better take a good look in a mirror, and see what such a creature looks like. If, as a nation, we are only a savage, with hate and bloodlust lurking just below the veneer of civilization, we may as well be told. Norman Angell tells us. He does not put it in the crude way we have summed it up above. He sets it out patiently, toilsomely with a wealth of proof and an abundance of logic. He piles chapter on chapter, sin upon sin, atrocity upon atrocity, until we would fain cry: Enough! We are all you say we are. But we are human and what are we going to do about it? You take away all our ordinary remedies. You say and prove that wars are not made by our old friend Economic Determinism; they are not prevented by the Wise Financiers whose properties they injure; they are not minimized by Democracy or "more democracy"; they are not checked by a free press; they are not opposed by teachers of Bible

¹ Published by J. H. Sears and Co. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$1.50.

² Published by Dutton. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$3.

doctrines (a majority of them); learning and science are the tools of Mars: what in heaven's name is the remedy? What's the answer?

A great editor with a newspaper property worth many millions at stake once talked to the writer about the war psychology as follows: "You have been out West and know about the great herds of cattle that are pastured on the public ranges. You know how these cattle sometimes get excited and start stampeding. When a herd thus gets started they will run for miles regardless of direction or the character of the ground. They will plunge over a cliff if one happens to be in their path. Nothing in front of them will check them. If a gang of cowboys should put themselves in their way and try to check them, the cowboys would be trampled to death under a thousand hoofs. Now, what do they do? They ride with the herd. They ride as nearly as they can toward the front of the herd, and they try to turn the leaders in. That is, by cries and pistol shots or the cracking of whips, they try to turn the leaders a bit to the right. And always they keep turning them a little more and a little more until at last the herd begins to go in a circle—to 'mill.' And thus gradually they can be stopped. When the people have started on a war stampede that is about all any sane editor can do. He must ride with the herd and turn them in if he can."

All of which is merely by the way. It is not a suggestion of Norman Angell. He sees the editor only as competing with his fellow editor in egging on the war in the hope of ever increased circulation and ever increasing revenues from advertising.

Public opinion is generally the voice of Satan. Emotions are things to be dreaded. Human nature is what makes wars, and the only thing that will ever put a check on the danger of wars is the discipline of human nature and emotions by BRAINS.

This is really Norman Angell's answer. It is folly to indulge in war. It is the same kind of folly that it is to rush and jam the exits when someone calls fire. But what will prevent that folly? Experience and disciplined intelligence. At the second fire scare in the theater the manager steps forward and orders: "Everybody stand. Nobody run. Look toward your nearest EXIT and WALK to it." The emotionalists who are human beings and full of fear, obey disciplined intelligence, and the danger is averted.

That is the only hope for averting wars. People must be not only "good," but not quite such fools.

GILSON GARDNER.

HONORABLE MENTION

*"What book have you recently found especially worth while?"
In response to this query we have received
the following titles:*

MARY E. WOOLLY, President of Mount Holyoke College: "Jefferson and Hamilton," by Claude G. Bowers (Houghton Mifflin Co.).

JOHN P. FREY, Editor of the Molders' Journal: "American Labor and American Democracy," by William English Walling (Harpers).

BURRIS A. JENKINS, Minister of Linwood Christian Church, Kansas City, Missouri: "Why We Behave Like Human Beings," by George A. Dorsey (Harpers).

OF GENERAL INTEREST BUT OF SPECIAL WORTH

The New Man and the Divine Society

DR. RICHARD ROBERTS has long been known for his tendencies toward what the political theorists today call "pluralism." Pluralism holds that the form of social organization which we call the State is not necessarily absolute in any sense—though while it always looks upon itself as practically "omnicompetent," it is not really entitled to such lordship over other social organizations as it assumes. The most cursory glance at human history, especially during the Middle Ages, shows an astonishing profusion of social organizations formed by voluntary association which have practically gone on in independence of the State. The present-day tendency toward large political units "tends to check the luxuriance of associated impulse." These large units are achievements of power and live by a technique of power. They are supported by the reactionary mind, especially in its more herdlike manifestations. In his recent book of the above title,¹ Dr. Roberts sees large promise for the race in the encouragement of the free association impulse in society. He is not much impressed with the over-specialization which would seek to relate all social organizations closely together in one organism. Self-governing social units voluntarily founded seem to him to offer most for the large welfare of mankind.

Dr. Roberts very wisely is willing to leave many things a rather loose ends. In considering theology he is not disturbed by the fact that transcendence and immanence are irreconcilable notions; he utilizes both for whatever measures of truth they seem likely to yield. He is "both-and" rather than "either-or." I do not remember seeing in the past quarter-century any more illuminating sketch than his of the history of the Church from its beginning through the development which Dr. Roberts calls "The Great Misadventure" down to the world of the present day. There is a completeness of understanding of the "stationary hive of Romanism" and of "the wayward, unstable herds of Protestantism," of the inevitability of the movement of the medieval Church toward the assumption of political power and of the multifarious contradictions which arose when a Church, in ideal at least held together by love, assumed the functions of a state which in the last resort is held together by force. Dr. Roberts finds a place in civic society for the exercise of force, but maintains that the capital error of the Church is its tendency not to remain true to its own function as the organ of the Kingdom of God. "It is its peculiar business to teach the meaning and practice of love."

Dr. Roberts believes that the Church needs to seek a Pentecost—a discipline of prayer and fellowship simply and patiently exercised, necessarily through small groups at first, until spiritual renewal comes. It would be impossible within the limits of this note to convey any idea of the soundness of historic understanding, of the breadth of charitable temper, or of the thoroughness of radical application of Christian principle, or of the directness of literary statement which characterize this splendid book.

FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL.

¹ Published by Macmillan. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2 postpaid.

Mexico: the Gist of It

FACTS are always hard to get, and doubly so about a situation very much beclouded by conflict of opinion and interests. Mexico is no exception. However, in a pamphlet of 48 pages entitled *Mexico's Struggle Towards Democracy*, Margaret Shipman has brought together the essential facts that any open minded inquirer would want to know about our relations with the republic to the south, and the meaning of Mexico's present situation in the light of her promise for the future. The pamphlet sets out to cover "the basic facts involved in the Mexican revolutions of 1857 and 1910." This it does and a great deal more. (Order from the author at Lee, Mass. Single copies, 25c.; 15c. in quantity.)

D. A.

My Idea of God

UNDER the above title Joseph Fort Newton has assembled the ideas of eighteen distinguished religious leaders of various faiths. Here we find side by side the deepest convictions of Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, Modernist and Fundamentalist, Rationalist and Mystic, Christian Scientist and Ethical Culturist, Swedenborgian and Quaker, Baptist and Methodist, Disciple and Presbyterian. It is interesting and significant to note that there are greater differences between certain of the Protestant writers than between the Jewish contributor and some of the Protestants. Perhaps I may be pardoned for calling especial attention to the chapters by three of the contributing editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW—Rufus M. Jones, John Haynes Holmes, and Richard Roberts. (Published by Little, Brown and Co. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.50.) K. P.

Our Wars: Defensive or Aggressive?

THE popular assumption in every country is that its own wars have been waged in self-defense. The enemy is always the aggressor. In no country is this assumption more widely held than in the United States. No people on earth feel more self-righteous and complacent than we do. For this reason Professor C. H. Hamlin's little book, *The War Myth in United States History*, is timely. It is an analysis of the causes of the six major wars we have waged. Historians have long known that the explanations of our wars given in popular text books are frequently distorted and misleading. Here is a valuable compilation of evidence in inexpensive form. The historian Muzzey is quoted as saying: "The War of 1812 was a blunder. It was unnecessary, impolitic, untimely, and rash." While no less an authority than General Grant said he considered the Mexican War "one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation." Published by The Vanguard Press. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, 50c.) K. P.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

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THOMAS H. UZZELL

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Reading List on Propaganda

- Some Newspapers and Newspapermen*, by Oswald Garrison Villard. Knopf.
- Public Opinion*, by Walter Lippman. Harcourt, Brace.
- Professional Patriots*, by Norman Hapgood. A. and C. Boni.
- Fakes in American Journalism*, by Max Sherover. Free Press Society, Brooklyn.
- A Year as a Government Agent*, by Vera B. Whitehouse. Harpers.
- Public Opinion in War and Peace*, by A. L. Lowell. Harvard U. Press.
- The Meaning of a Liberal Education*, by Everett Dean Martin. Chap. 3. W. W. Norton.
- How We Advertised America*, by George Creel. Harpers.
- The Secrets of Crewe House*, by Campbell Stuart. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- "Propaganda" *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Vol. 3 (New).
- The Art of Influencing the Masses in the United States* (German), by Schoenemann. Deutsche Verlagsanstalt Stuttgart.
- Behind the Scenes of French Journalism* (French), by a French Editor.
- Shall It Be Again?*, by John Kenneth Turner. Huebsch & Co.
- Cartoons of the War*, by Ferdinand Avenarius. Kunstwart.
- Criticism of Public Opinion* (German), by Toennies.
- Now It Can Be Told*, by Philips Gibbs. Harpers.
- The Brass Check*, by Upton Sinclair. Upton Sinclair.

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The Taxation of Inheritance, by Wm. J. Shultz. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926. 5¼ x 8¼. 379 pages. \$3. This book deals clearly and comprehensively with a subject which is becoming more and more important. Persons interested in checking the growth of huge family fortunes will do well to familiarize themselves with this study.

Jefferson and Hamilton, by Claude G. Bowers. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925. 6 x 9. 531 pages. \$5. A fresh and exceedingly interesting account of the controversy between the aristocrats and the democrats in the early history of the United States.

German Colonization Past and Future, by Heinrich Schnee. New York: Knopf, 1926. 5¼ x 9. 176 pages. \$3. A former governor of German East Africa discusses history and indulges in prophecy. Since Germany's entrance into the League of Nations, the whole problem of colonies and mandates has assumed new significance. Here is a temperate statement of the case for Germany.

The Pacer, by Viola Paradise. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1927. 7¼ x 5¼. 278 pages. \$2. Eliminating the adjectives one might use about this first novel with a clear conscience, let it go at this; you won't be sorry.

The Law of Social Revolution, a cooperative study by The Labor Research Study Group, Scott Nearing, leader. New York: Social Science Publishers, 1926. 7½ x 5. 262 pages. 75c. Marked by careful research by writers with conflicting viewpoints on some matters, this study attempts to bring social revolution into the realm of social science and to postulate laws. An unusually competent statement of what is, in the main, the communist view of social conflict.

Child Guidance, by Smiley Blanton and Margaret Gray Blanton. New York: Century Co., 1927. 5½ x 8. 249 pages. \$2.25. The purpose of the book is to lead parents to a better understanding of child behavior. It deals with the commonplace material of child development from birth to adolescence in the light of recent discoveries in psychology which have bearing on the training of children.

Adult Education, by Joseph K. Hart. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1927. 5½ x 8. 356 pages. \$2.75. True to its title. Good for those who are trying to discover ways of meeting needs of adults in education. "From mechanism to insight" in education, it is a criticism of ideas and methods. Exceedingly penetrating and constructive.

Music for Children, by Doris Simmonson, Lilla Bell Pitt with foreword by Peter W. Dykema. New York: Child Study Association of America, 1926. 5 x 6¼. 56 pages. 35c. A selected list of music books, piano rolls and phonograph records for young children and for older boys and girls.

Introduction to the Psychology of Religion, by Frank S. Hickman. New York: Abingdon Press, 1926. 5 x 7½. 539 pages. \$3. Designed to introduce the undergraduate student to the psychology of religion it covers a wide range of elements of religious experience. Each chapter ends with questions for study and discussion and a list of selected references.

Purposive Evolution, by Edmund Noble. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1926. 5½ x 8½. 571 pages. \$5. Student Edition, \$4. The subtitle is "the link between science and religion." The "design problem" is the basis of argument and to offer a solution to that problem such as shall throw light on the method of evolution, the nature of life, the meaning of heredity and the scope of knowledge is the aim of the book.

Darwin, by Gamaliel Bradford. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926. 6 x 9. 315 pages. \$3.50. The soul of the greatest revolutionary of the nineteenth century explored by the pioneer of psychographers.

Humanizing Education, by Samuel D. Schmalhausen. New York: The New Education Publishing Co., 1926. 5¼ x 8¼. 343 pages. \$2.50. Because "education has become the great enemy of enlightenment" the author attempts a thorough criticism of its ills. Such constructive analysis of things fundamental to a better tomorrow ought to be welcomed and studied. The book is remarkable for the many excellent quotations.

German After-War Problems, by Kuno Francke. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. 5½ x 7¾. 134 pages. \$1.50. Four essays—three of them reprints from *The Atlantic Monthly*—on the moral and intellectual forces of post-war Germany.

The Woman Worker and the Trade Unions, by Theresa Wolfson. New York: International Publishers, 1926. 5½ x 7¾. 224 pages. \$1.75. The problems of the woman worker in her fight for economic justice excellently handled.

On Shiny Wings, by Helen Von Kolnitz Hyer. Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1926. 5 x 7¾. 127 pages. \$1.75. Delightful nature stories for young children, illustrated as they should be by R. Bruce Horsfall.

Individual Liberty, by Benjamin R. Tucker. New York: Vanguard Press, Inc., 1926. 4½ x 7¼. 294 pages. 50c. A revival at the low price of this excellent Vanguard series, of some of the ideals of individualistic anarchism.

Intelligent Parenthood. Proceedings of the Mid-West Conference on Parent Education, March, 1926. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926. 4¾ x 7¾. 326 pages. Paper covers, \$2. They would have to be hardboiled parents indeed who could not benefit from these stimulating addresses.

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THE WORLD TOMORROW'S INDEX TO VOLUME IX

January to December, 1926

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For Group Discussion

These questions have been added to the information in this issue for those who are interested in challenging or testing the points of view represented by the contributors. Such interest can be largely enriched if a group can meet and discuss the points at which they differ in theory or practice with one another or with the convictions here presented. The Editors and Miss Loucks will welcome criticisms or suggestions as to the usefulness of the questions.

What Should Make Up the Public's Mind?

I. Have group note down the first thing that comes to their minds when the following words are heard:

Turk; Mexican; Bolshevik; capitalist; foreigner.

Have the individuals describe the "pictures in their heads," explaining, as far as possible, the experiences that might account for the given picture.

To what extent is the "picture in the head" consistent with the individual's reasoned knowledge? With the actual significance of the word?

II. Take any subject on which the group has changed its opinion or come from an unexamined to a reasoned opinion, such as the "German atrocities during the war," "Nordic superiority," "the right of collective bargaining," etc. Have each person try to explain:

1. What were your opinions regarding the issue before they were examined?

2. What went into making those opinions?

3. What are your opinions now?

4. What made you change them?

5. What does the analysis of the experience of the group show as to the general factors which influence or determine public opinion? What, in your data, would you attribute to irrational emotional conditioning? defense of class privilege? open mindedness? moral judgment in lieu of constructive thought? capacity for individual judgment? sequence or parallelism regarded as equivalent to cause and effect? etc.?

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6. What would you consider the essential requisites for a Public Opinion for a democracy? Why?
 7. Criticize the two statements so as to make clear the assumptions on which they are held or refuted: "The voice of the people is the voice of Satan." "Good citizenship is not so much a matter of information as of disposition and not so much of the head as of the heart, not so much dependent on knowledge as upon sentiment. Those who want to do right have little difficulty in finding the right."
 8. What advantages does emotion offer to an effective public opinion? Under what conditions? What difficulties?
 9. What is the place of the expert in the formation of effective public opinion?
 10. What is your basis for thinking that a public opinion that you would feel desirable is possible of achievement? What help or hindrance does "human nature" offer?
 11. Where do you place propaganda in the formation of this opinion? Why?
 12. Where do you place "education"? Why?
 13. What are the advantages and disadvantages of a policy based on propaganda? on Education?
 14. Where have you a place to put your theory to test? in work? in class? in club?
- Special references: Lippman, W. Public Opinion
Inquiry: What makes up my mind on International Questions?
GRACE H. LOUCKS.

F. C. S. O. Conference

THE Fellowship for a Christian Social Order meets in national conference April 19-22 at Dayton, O. Theme of the Conference: The Technique of the New Social Order. Sherwood Eddy, Paul H. Douglas, Reinhold Niebuhr, Anne Guthrie, Wilbur K. Thomas, Kirby Page, and Bishop Francis J. McConnell will lead the discussions. The Conference is open to all interested. Further information and registration blanks from Amy Blanche Green, Room 505, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Women's Student Pilgrimage

THE National Student Council of the Y.W.C.A. has still a few vacancies in its European tour group, which leaves June 9 and returns September 6. Students, professors, dean of women student secretaries, address 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

Summer Study in Europe

A SUMMER school for Americans and a seminary for American teachers will be conducted in Vienna from July 18 to August 27. Information from The Institute of International Education, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The University of Jena likewise announces its usual summer school, at which many from other lands regularly attend. For information address Dr. Cl. Blomeyer, Karl Zeissplatz 3, Jena, Germany.

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The big April number (256 pages) has a striking Table of Contents.

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Vol. 1. No. 1.

VOLUME I, Number 1 of the *Haldeman-Julius Quarterly* may immediately be obtained if you use the blank below immediately by your trial Subscription will begin with this popular first number. So much in demand was this issue that it was sent to press for three additional printings. Readers literally clamored for a copy! The Table of Contents includes: "Forest Fire and Fifteen Fine Novels" by Francis Dickie; "The Futility of Relief in God," by Joseph McCabe; "The New American Architecture" by Orrick Johns; "Stephen Girard and Girard College," by Nelson Antrim Crawford; "The Story of Greenwich Village," by Clement Wood; "The Love-Life of George Sand," by Ralph Oppenheim; "America Comes of Age," by Isaac Goldberg; "A Ten-Year-Old Agnostic," by Ulysse J. Walsh; "America at the Fair," by W. G. Clugston; "Sinclair Lewis and a Liberal Preacher," by Marcell Haldeman-Julius; "The War on Cancer," by Joseph Cole Bloodgood; "Thomas Paine, Pioneer Freethinker," by J. V. Nash; etc., etc.

Vol. 1. No. 2.

THE big second issue of the *Quarterly*, now ready, contains such interesting contributions as these: "Moral Coward Bias," by Marcell Haldeman-Julius; "The Human Origin of Morals," by Joseph McCabe; "Lindisborg, Kansas," by Clarice Cunningham; "The First American at Tanankhamen's Tomb," by J. V. Nash; "The Art of Self-Culture," by John Cowper Powys; "E. W. Howe," by George Jean Nathan; "Young Oklahoma's Contribution to American Poetry," by William Cunningham; "The Romance That Balzac Lived," by Ralph Oppenheim; "Sexual Rationalism," by Isaac Goldberg; "Dr. John Roach Straton's Museum," by Carroll Lane Fenton; "The Evolutionary Enigma," by G. D. Eaton; "W. T. Benda and His Masks," by Lloyd E. Smith; "The State of Arkansas," by W. G. Clugston; "Alma Levine," by James Fuchs; "Theodore Dreiser: An Appreciation," by Louis Adamio; "How a College Professor Makes His Living," by Hubert Fuller; "The Diary of a Methodist Professor," by Andrew J. Lamb; etc., etc.

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Correspondence Committee on Militarism in Education

THE campaign against militarism in education during the year 1926 was marked by the following indications of progress:

(1) Discontinuance of bayonet combat in the Reserve Officer Training Corps and Citizens Military Training Camps by order of the War Department. (2) Revision of at least two standard manuals of military training, deleting many passages of barbarous and objectionable character. (3) Removal of all military training from the Cleveland High Schools, R.O.T.C. from Hampton Institute, of compulsory drill from Boston University and the College of the City of New York. (4) Introduction of bills in both house of Congress for the elimination of compulsory military training from non-military civil educational institutions, and Committee hearings in the House. (5) Disapproval of compulsory drill expressed by President Coolidge, Federal Council of Churches, American Federation of Labor, the Presbyterian, Northern Baptist and Disciples' National Conventions, the National Council of Jewish Women, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and about fifty other church and educational groups in various states. (6) The formation of state citizens' committee opposed to militarism in Nebraska and Massachusetts and inauguration of a campaign in Great Britain by the British National Council for the Prevention of War to get the War Office out of the British schools.

On the other hand, the year saw: (1) The introduction of Naval R.O.T.C. units in Harvard, Yale, Georgia University of Technology, University of California, University of Washington and Northwestern University. (2) The initiation of the Munition Battalion. (3) Interference with free speech for peace in a number of colleges.

The Committee on Militarism in Education, 387 Bible House New York, is carrying on a national campaign of education. It is an independent committee, including in its membership Professor Manley O. Hudson, Dr. David Starr Jordan, Halford Luccock, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, President Arthur E. Morgan, John Nevin Sayre, Charles M. Sheldon, Wilbur K. Thomas, Professor Luther A. Weigle, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and William Allen White.

GEORGE A. COE, Chairman.

In Pennsylvania

THE March number of *THE WORLD TOMORROW* attracted some attention in this section of Pennsylvania.

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JOHN BROPHY.

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THE Youth Section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation feel the need of a compilation of instances where pacifism, that is, superresistance, has worked.

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The Last Page

Those After-Sunday Blues

MOST every day
In my pe-cu-li-ar way
I go about my biznuss feeling gay.

Boy, I'm avowin'
I got no time for rowin'
And so I just keep on, keep on a-plowin'.
Through the week
I turn a smiling cheek—

And yet, on Monday mornings, how I shriek:

*I've got, I've go-hot, those after-Sunday blues;
I in-va-ri-ab-ly get 'em from the after-Sunday news.
Why should they, how could they,
Print what the parsons say
When they oughter know the way 'twill look, on another day?
Let 'em preach, oh let-ah them teach,
But keep 'em outer the reporters' reach:
For when you read it
The way the papers feed it,
Those educational,
Those disapprobational,
Those circumnavigational,
Those somewhat sensational
Statements which make sense down in the pews
Look a whole lot diff-er-ent in the day's news!
Oh-oh-oh-oh,
All of yer know
They give yer the after-Sunday
Blue-*

hue-

hue-

hues!

"JULIAN BEGG LUNT

Says Preachers Must Be Blunt
And when it comes to using tact he for one won't.
The spirit's better
By far than the letter,
And 'twas the business spirit that produced the go-getter.
The thing that cumbers
And prolongs the church's slumbers
In the face of an Exodus, is lack of faith in Numbers.
Let's be on the jump!
We're threatened with a slump!
We've got to sell religion to the sinners." Thump, thump!

"MINISTER Inquires

If the modernistic liars
Realize that someday they will feed hell fires.
Thus and So
Run the words we ought to know,
And any question-asker deals the truth a vile blow.
Why do they ask?
I'll take them all to task
And show their infidelity by stripping off the mask."

"DOCTOR GRIMES

Inveighs Against Crimes
And calls for protection for the church's chimes.
I must speak
And assert we are too weak;
We need a lot of harsher laws to safeguard the meek.
Start at least a liminal
Campaign to curb the criminal,
We can keep sterner if we stick to the hym-i-nal.
Flourish your scimitars,
Drive all crooks behind the bars;
Nobody can handle crime like Big Brother Mars."

"BISHOP BLITZ

Gives Pacifists the Fits
Before a bunch of army men dining at the Ritz;
Dominie Declares
We must seek them in their lairs,
Smash all their arguments and send them for repairs.
Our brave land
Is betrayed on every hand,
And we must hush her critics, men. Strike up the band!"

* * *

"HERE and there

Scattered everywhere
There are preachers who escape Pub-li-ci-ty's fierce glare;
Working like a leaven
Seven days in seven
They try to make the earth a little more a heaven.
In manner unathletic
And in style far from splenetic
They stir you, set you thinking—which is what I call prophetic.
They rarely make the press,
Or if they do their stuff's a mess.

But it's not because of these that I regretfully confess:

*I've got, I've go-hot, those after-Sunday blues;
I in-va-ri-ab-ly get 'em from the after-Sunday news.
How can they
But man, they
Let 'em go, when-ah they know
The Monday morning papers will write 'em up so?
For when you read it
The way the papers feed it,
Those inspirational,
Those denominational,
Those detonational,
Those rather sensational
Statements which make sense down in the pews
Look a whole lot diff-er-ent in the day's news!
Oh-oh-oh-oh,
All of yer know,
They give yer the after-Sunday
Blue-*

hue-

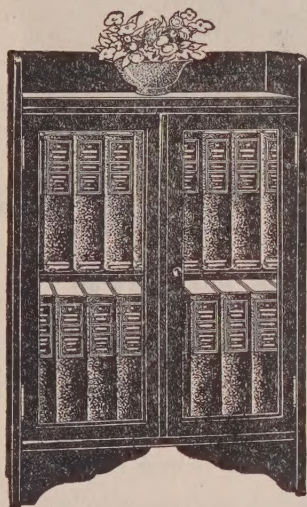
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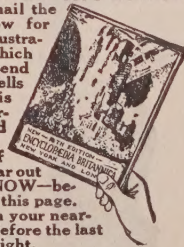
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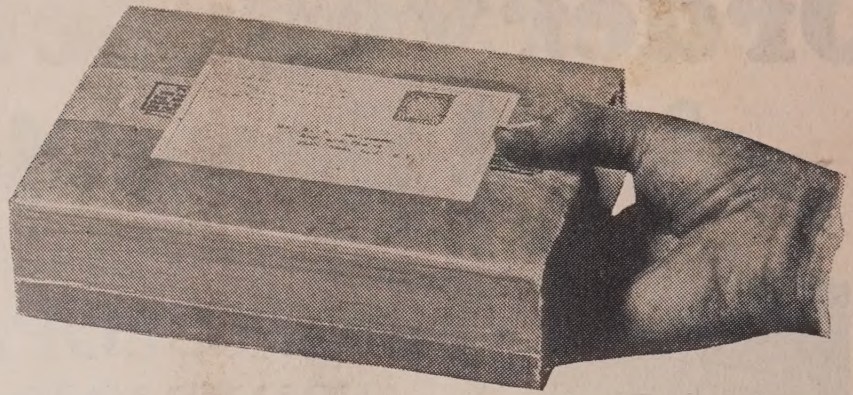
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